

**THE UNITED STATES
AND
THE DEBATE ON THE WORLD
“INFORMATION ORDER”**



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"INFORMATION ORDER"

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PREFACE

The purpose of this report is to summarize and discuss in terms meaningful to U.S. Government and private media leaders the calls for change in the world "information order" that have surfaced in recent years. An understanding of critical perspectives will be an important ingredient in any effective evaluation of U.S. policies and activities in international communications. This paper is not a policy study. It makes no specific recommendations. Rather, it is a preliminary effort to describe the new context in which U.S. policies will be formulated and in which they will have to perform.

The need for a succinct overview of the debate on the world "information order" was first identified in conversations between Wilbur T. Blume of the International Communication Agency and myself in late 1977. David Davis of the Ford Foundation also took an interest in the idea and provided invaluable moral (and later financial) support. To all of us, it seemed that no single source offered an overview of the important aspects of the debate. We hoped that both laymen and technical specialists might benefit from a reference book that offered a historical review of the debate (as it has evolved in various international fora) and a summary of the issues as they stand today.

In order to be available during U.S. preparations for the UNESCO General Conference in October 1978, or for current deliberations in the U.S. Government on international communications policy, the overview would have to be produced on a tight schedule. Therefore, a core staff of four researcher/writers was assembled for an intensive three-month effort.

To be useful for decision-making in the U.S. Government and U.S. private media institutions, the overview would have to seem to be a fair presentation from various American points of view. For this reason, five prominent Americans with major involvement in international communications were invited to serve as advisors to the study. The core staff developed a detailed outline for the report, which was circulated for comment to the advisors and to some 40 additional people in the U.S. and in the Third World.

Next, consultants were sought who could draft--in one to five days--initial statements corresponding to the nine specialized areas of the outline. Because of time constraints, consultants had to be within easy reach. The text received from the consultants was integrated, expanded, substantially rewritten and edited by the core staff.

After nearly four months of intensive work, each advisor has had an opportunity to respond in-depth to both a detailed outline and a draft report. However, guidance does not signify approval. Time has not allowed for the production of a text that would be approved line-for-line by so diverse a group. As a result, responsibility for the text must rest solely with the study director. Nonetheless, every effort has been made to incorporate the reactions and positions of the advisors into the report.

In the coming months, we hope to expand this American statement into a more comprehensive form, through the inclusion of non-American participants in the study. Dr. George Gerbner has expressed an interest in publishing an expanded version in connection with the preparations for a major international conference at the Annenberg School of Communications in early 1980. Therefore, readers are encouraged to offer their reactions to this report and suggestions for future revisions.

Special thanks are due to Hamid Mowlana of American University and Glen Fisher of Georgetown University for their help in conceptualizing the report in its early stages. Narinder Aggarwala of the United Nations Development Programme and Stan Swinton of the Associated Press contributed particularly useful ideas and reactions. Fred Hartley of the U.S. Department of State and Bill Harley of the U.S. Commission for UNESCO graciously provided their advice. I would like to thank all the consultants for responding quickly and effectively, the advisors for giving freely and generously of their time, Marjorie Edmonds for her special help and insight, and finally, the staff for showing dedication and willingness to work long hours to synthesize the contributions of 30 individuals.

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SUMMARY

PART I: CONTEXT

The United States has been a massive supplier of media products to the rest of the world, but it uses very few foreign media products itself. International news reaches the U.S. largely through AP and UPI. The U.S. TV system is the second most "closed" to foreign programming in the world. These facts, deriving from the success and dynamism of U.S. private media, may limit our ability to see the world (and ourselves) through others' eyes.

Since World War II, the number of nations in the world has increased from about 40 to 150, giving the Third World (encompassing two-thirds of humanity) potentially decisive power as a bloc in UN bodies. Although Third World states are ideologically diverse, they are united in some ways by their common plight of underdevelopment--the demands it generates and the conditions it imposes.

Most Third World nations lack the broad economic base (mass markets for advertising, sources of private capital) that would enable private media to serve broad social needs. The vast expansion of broadcasting in Asia and Africa has been largely government-initiated and is therefore responsible not only for stimulating the expression of ideas, but also for contributing to national development and to the maintenance of public order.

Revolutionary groups seizing power and weakened governments facing internal turmoil may resort to strict control of media for narrow political ends. The marxist-leninist model of communications may seem particularly effective in using media as key levers of state power. East Bloc communications advisors are reportedly influencing communication policies in several African countries. The strategic implications of the North-South debate on communications should be taken seriously.

The U.S. commitment in communications to private ownership and to the profit motive is unique world-wide. The Western allies have developed a range of models for public control of telecommunications and broadcasting within the context of free speech and democratic ideals. To insist that other countries follow the American media model will be

to isolate the United States from major currents in world opinion.

Isolation on "information order" issues could prove dangerous because the U.S. has major interests in open international communications. These include access to foreign news and the dependence of U.S. business and defense upon secure lines of communication. A greater long-term interest is promotion of the deeply held values of pluralism and diversity of expression in a world where communications will be overwhelmingly financed and operated by governments.

To address constraints upon diversity represented by admitted international imbalances in the ability to communicate, American leaders have officially offered assistance in communications before UNCTAD, UNESCO, and OAS meetings. Although pre-existing AID and USIA communications programs have continued, no major new initiatives have been undertaken by the U.S. to date.

PART II: SPECIFIC FORA

The UN in its early years supported Western ideas, especially those of free speech and freedom of information. In recent years, however, an enlarged Third World membership has brought these ideas into question. There is increasing concern among a wide range of UN members with the potential threats that virtual U.S. dominance of direct broadcast and earth resources satellites pose to national sovereignty and security. A widely stated desire within the UN has been to require states broadcasting or sensing to receive "prior consent" from other states affected by those technologies.

UNESCO, after promoting for many years the "free flow of information" and infrastructure development in the Third World, now stresses the need for "free and balanced flow." UNESCO helps countries in communication policy-making and planning, assists the Non-Aligned News Pool, and has been the forum in which a Soviet-proposed declaration on the mass media has been hotly debated. The U.S. opposes the drafts of this declaration as being restrictive, statist and contrary to U.S. interests.

ITU, after many years of Western domination as a "technical" body coordinating telecommunication development, has recently begun to reflect the political concerns of the Third World regarding "equal access" to telecommunications. ITU's 1979 World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC) will influence the course of telecommunications through the end of the century. No one knows how the Third World (which holds the majority voting power) will approach the WARC.

The Non-Aligned Movement has operated since the early 1950s and now has 85 member countries. It has been the focal point of the critiques of the "international economic order." In 1973, the non-aligned countries first discussed communications. Non-aligned spokesmen have since called for a new world "information order," established a pool of Third World news agencies, and organized a meeting of non-aligned broadcasters. The Non-Aligned Movement has clearly influenced the priorities of the UN system. Impacts of bi-lateral relations are much more difficult to ascertain.

PART III: SUMMARIES OF VARIOUS ISSUE AREAS

News Flow has been the most controversial subject of the debates on the world "information order." Third World spokesmen feel dependent for international news upon four Western news agencies. Western decisions (based on this news) are considered crucial to Third World development. Third World countries have started a "news pool," which has to date carried more official statements than news, in the opinion of many.

Mass Culture, as embodied in publications, films and TV programs exported from the U.S. to the Third World, has been seen as "cultural imperialism" by critics, and as an inexpensive motivator of development by supporters. It has been considered to be both a stimulant and a retardant of the development of local communication systems.

Technology Transfer has been considered a partial solution to Third World poverty or as a mechanism for perpetuating Western domination. Technology transferred in the 1960s has been criticized as inappropriately capital-intensive for labor-rich countries, and as overly elite and urban-oriented. Communication "hardware" has allegedly created a dependence upon foreign "software" (films, TV programs, and wire copy). Recently, there have been calls for more equitable terms of technology transfer and for technical cooperation among developing countries (TCDC).

National Sovereignty has always been threatened by shortwave broadcasts of propaganda, according to some critics. However, such threats are considered immensely greater from emerging satellite technology. Satellite television broadcasting, remote earth-sensing, and cross-border flows of computer data (mostly through satellite channels) are feared by developing countries and by some developed nations. The United States is opposed to the enactment of regulations governing direct, satellite broadcasting until the technology is a reality. The U.S. also favors open dissemination of remote-sensing data and relatively free flow of data across borders.

Communication Rights derive from human rights. Mistreatment of journalists and denial of access to news sources occur in the East Bloc and the Third World. Citizens' rights to information and to privacy have proven difficult to balance against governments' proclaimed sovereignty rights. A multi-cultural group of professionals and academics is trying to formulate a global "right to communicate" in response to the opportunities (and the dangers) created by revolutionary advances now under way in communications.

PART IV: IMPLICATIONS

The U.S. has tended to see threats to the "free flow of information" as acts of totalitarian governments shielding their peoples from the truth in order to perpetuate their rule. While this is sometimes the case, there is also a genuine debate in the world regarding the social role of the media. In order to be effective, American spokesmen must be well informed on the debate, and must show respect for various viewpoints.

For all the passion in the debate, there is little solid, comparable cultural data on the processes and effects of modern communications. Major efforts in cross-cultural, comparative research could contribute much to a reasoned and rational debate on communications. Such research should be cooperatively designed and mutually conducted.

In order to deal with the broad foreign policy implications of private media flows, the U.S. government could fund studies and conferences on the overall costs and benefits of various options. An "early warning system" could be developed for anticipating changes in countries' legal and regulatory structures that affect U.S. interests in open, responsive and responsible international communications.

The U.S. government should undertake a major program of technical assistance in communications based upon offers made by U.S. political leaders before major conferences of UNCTAD, UNESCO and the OAS. The U.S. should try, as much as possible, to work cooperatively with Third World countries as it did with India in testing satellite applications for communications.

As a basis for cooperative technical programs, U.S. exchange programs should expand greatly their involvement with professional communicators. In addition to journalists and producers, more editors and publishers should be included. In order to affect governments' use of communications in development, ministries of planning, information agriculture, health and education also should be involved in exchanges. These exchanges should be two-way, involving an equally wide array of communication professionals in the U.S. as well.

The technological revolution under way promises an unprecedented abundance of communications. Many more channels for two-way communication, local broadcasting, and centralized mass communications should be possible. For such technological potential to be realized, world leaders would have to transcend debates on "offensive message flows" and current patterns of control and concentrate instead on building an "information order" that seems equitable to all.

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INTRODUCTION

At the close of World War II, American publishers, press agencies, filmmakers and broadcasters offered their products on an unprecedented scale to a largely receptive world. With Western Europe's economy (and media) rebuilding and Europe's colonial empires still awaiting independence, the main impediments to the "free flow" of American information were the authoritarian governments of Russia and Eastern Europe. The U.S. found few competitors for its products in international media markets. The millions of copies of Time and Reader's Digest read by foreign elites, the world-wide mass audience for American films and TV programming, and the popularity of Voice of America seemed to create empathy and understanding regarding modern values, generally, and the American way of life, specifically.

By the early 1970s, the situation had changed drastically. The vast expansion of international communication over the quarter century since World War II did not seem, to many, to have improved international understanding. Indeed, controversy surrounded America's very efforts in international communication. Traditional America adversaries in the East Bloc were joined by the emerging nations and even, at times, by the Western Allies in questioning:

- the threat to "national sovereignty" implied by U.S. pre-eminence in computers, remote sensing and communication technology.
- the "cultural imperialism" reflected in U.S. exports of publications, films and television.
- the "bias" of American news agency coverage of foreign affairs.

While Americans may view these issues as separate, critics tend to see a unified world "information order," deriving from (and also reinforcing) the global economic order. The dominant U.S. position in communication technology and in world communication markets seems to be but one example of U.S. economic power. The economic system is regarded by critics as inequitable and self-perpetuating. It is

alleged to operate systematically against Third World interests, and in favor of the rich countries.

These charges have been difficult for some Americans to confront. There is pride in the American role in developing space communications and the earlier underlying technologies. There is a belief that these advances are enjoyed by all the peoples of the world. The world-wide popularity of American cultural products overseas is attributed by many Americans to their portrayal of a vigorous open society, of equal opportunity, and of cultural diversity. Americans generally regard their news agencies as committed to fair, honest reporting unfettered by government controls. These qualities are considered worthy of export in a world where authoritarianism seems on the rise.

However, the world has changed in many basic ways since American media expanded overseas. Many of these changes have been away from American ideals. With U.S. political power and relative economic self-sufficiency (even after the energy crisis) Americans may have felt less need to be sensitive to these changes than have other peoples.

Considering American cultural self-sufficiency, there has probably been less opportunity to see these changes through others' eyes than would be the case in almost any other country. UNESCO research found that America uses a lower percentage of foreign TV programming than any other country in the world, save one--the People's Republic of China.¹

China's "closed" TV system certainly derives from political priorities. The U.S. case is probably the result of commercial priorities. Nonetheless, the results may be alarmingly similar--ignorance of how others see the world. When Americans receive foreign news, it is almost always through the eyes of AP, UPI or an American TV network. Insofar as trends in the world have been interpreted as anti-American, anti-democratic, and anti-capitalist, U.S. news organizations may have difficulty giving a sensitive and complete picture of these trends.

The problems of our media institutions in reporting upon the debates on the world "information order" may be even greater. To the extent that U.S. institutions dominate international communications, they have professional, economic and political interests in those debates. It may be too much to expect wholly dispassionate and objective reporting about matters of vital self-interest--even from institutions devoted to objectivity. Theorists both here and abroad are now even questioning the viability of concept of objectivity.

Objectivity becomes particularly problematical in a cross-cultural context. Normally, one thinks of objectivity in terms of providing balance between conflicting points of view, using the "middle of the road" as a fulcrum or reference point. However, cultural assumptions differ greatly regarding the "middle of the road." To take a dramatic example, thieves in Saudi Arabia can be punished by amputation of a hand. Adultery is often punishable by death. One wonders how an American reporter serving an "international" wire service could possibly report on crime in a way that would seem "objective" to Saudi followers of Koranic Law.

One solution to such dilemmas, which has been suggested by various Third World voices, would involve the creation of new channels of communication to augment the established services with diverse and non-American opinions. After all, much of the foreign news received in the Third World is through American eyes--those of AP, UPI, VOA and the TV newsfilm syndicates.

U.S. media leaders have welcomed the development of such channels, as long as they do not interfere with the rights of established U.S. media to report the news. But there is some doubt as to the financial viability of these alternative channels. Some media leaders feel U.S. technical and financial assistance should be offered the Third World. Others feel that poor countries will have to tolerate poverty in communications (as in all areas) until they have achieved a higher level of economic development.

American Stakes and Commitments

Some readers may ask why we need to concern ourselves with criticisms from the Third World? Why can't American media enterprises continue to conduct their business as usual? After all, there is a buyer for every American media seller. In fact, the future interest of buyers in American media products (and their freedom from government regulations) will depend upon a healthy international atmosphere.

At an informal meeting after the 1977 International Telecommunications Union regulatory meeting on satellite broadcasting (which went largely against the U.S. position), one U.S. policymaker asked why America--possessing the most advanced satellites and launch capabilities--should not simply ignore the UN regulatory body and launch at will. The basic answer is that communication using the radio spectrum can only function when electronic interference from overlapping signals is avoided. And, this occurs only when all parties realize their common interests and work

together. Thus, America cannot avoid cooperation with the other nations of the world, most of whom are poor and concerned primarily with development.

In addition, several vital U.S. interests can be defined which depend upon cooperation. The most immediate of these interests is the increasing dependence of U.S. defense for surveillance, command and control upon reliable and secure electronic lines of communication. American international banking and business also depend increasingly upon telecommunications links for data processing, financial transfers and simple telephone connections. The economic health of the information industries themselves, especially computer and telecommunications equipment manufacturers, film and TV producers, depend upon access to overseas markets.

A related U.S. interest is access to news in the East Bloc and the Third World. Threats against reporters' rights and denial of their access to news have increased in both areas of the world. The impact is potentially devastating to the U.S. system, which depends for enlightened public opinion and government decision-making upon private and independent sources of news and information to complement (and check) official intelligence gathering.

An underlying and more basic U.S. interest relates to the need (and opportunity) to shape a future world in which basic American values will be respected. Even if U.S. priorities on individual enterprise and individual liberty are not prominent in the developing world, the U.S. commitment to cultural pluralism and to diversity of expression may have great meaning for countries which often consist of multiple ethnic groups.

On the other hand, multiple ethnic groups can also mean internal turmoil. When constituted governments are threatened, or when revolutionary groups seize power, the marxist-leninist model of communications may appeal. The media then become a key lever of state power. To implement this model, communication advisors from the East Bloc are said to be operating in several African countries. The long-term consequences for communications in Africa and for American interests are bound to be great.

Although authoritarian measures affect the media of many Third World countries, they are generally labelled "temporary" and are usually not nearly as ingrained as they are in the East Bloc. In a sense, the Third World is still largely uncommitted ideologically regarding how media systems should develop over the long run. The

United States can exert an influence upon the Third World in favor of democratization in the media--if American media leaders and government policymakers are sensitive and knowledgeable, when dealing with controversies in international communications.

The development of such an atmosphere would probably benefit from U.S. action to rectify the admitted imbalance in world flows of news, culture and technical information. On three separate occasions in the last two years, American leaders have promised to assist in developing Third World communications capabilities. The first of the explicit offers of assistance was made by former Secretary of State Kissinger at UNCTAD IV (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) at Nairobi, in May of 1976:

Satellite technology offers enormous promise as an instrument for development. Remote sensing satellites can be applied to survey resources, forecast crops, and improve land use in developing countries. They can help to foresee and evaluate natural disasters. Modern communication technologies, including satellites, have large, untapped potential to improve education, training, health services, food production and other activities essential for development.

Therefore, from July through October of this year, the United States will make available to interested developing countries demonstrations of the various applications for development of the experimental ATS-6 communications satellite, the Landsat remote sensing satellite, and high resolution photography. We are prepared to cooperate with developing countries in establishing centers, training personnel and, where possible, adapting our civilian satellite programs to their needs.² (emphasis added)

Demonstrations of satellite technology did take place in 27 countries of Africa and Asia. Each demonstration lasted three hours. While there has been some follow-up in terms of AID projects in remote sensing and communications, these activities could not be characterized as major.

The next official U.S. offer of assistance in communications came in the context of the UNESCO General Conference, also held at Nairobi, in October 1976. This episode is reviewed in greater detail in the UNESCO section of this report, but this statement by Ambassador John Reinhardt should be noted:

It is appropriate that the international community look very hard at how we can insure that the flow of information and ideas is truly two-way. It is our conviction that the most effective way to reduce the current imbalance is not by inhibiting the communications capacity of some, but by increasing the communications capacity of all . . . We believe that the United States and other nations in which are found highly developed mass media facilities and capabilities should endeavor to make available, through bilateral and multilateral channels, both private and governmental, assistance to other states in helping to develop their mass media.³ (emphasis added)

The next major mention of U.S. assistance in communications came six months later in President Carter's speech before the Organization of American States (OAS):

Our own science and technology can be useful to many of your countries. For instance, we are ready to train your technicians to use more information gathered by our own satellites, so that you can make better judgments on management of your resources and your environment. Space communications technology can also be a creative tool in helping your national television systems to promote your educational and cultural objectives.⁴ (emphasis added)

While a less comprehensive and ambitious statement than that made at Nairobi, the Presidential address before leaders of the entire Western Hemisphere implied significant assistance activity which, to date, has not been forthcoming.

Since the offer of assistance made by Ambassador Reinhardt, almost two years have passed. Although pre-existing AID and USIA (now ICA) programs in communications have continued, no new initiatives of the scale suggested by the Nairobi offer have been undertaken. Communications issues will certainly be addressed at the UNESCO General Conference this October in Paris and the lack of action under the U.S. offer at Nairobi will probably be scrutinized.

Nor should this fall's UNESCO conference be seen in isolation, though the temptation is obvious. The individual international organizations have taken up questions from the broad debate over the world "information order" in a fragmented way because their jurisdictions are limited. The private, commercial structure of the American media and telecommunications system and the specialization of the people working

within the U.S. communications industry have compounded the tendency to lose sight of the overall pattern in the questions being raised. For the Third World, however, the issues (the flow of news, the flow of mass culture, direct broadcasting from satellites, the transfer of technology, etc.) overlap considerably and are often approached in international meetings from a uniform policy orientation.

It should not be viewed as mere coincidence that communications issues arose in both the United Nations and UNESCO almost simultaneously, with growing impact from and upon the meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement. Somewhat later, the International Telecommunications Union, previously a technical body, also began to reflect similar political concerns. Momentum has clearly been built for continued debate over "information order" questions in coming international meetings: this summer's world conference on Technical Cooperation Among Developing Countries (TCDC) in Buenos Aires, UNESCO's General Conference this fall, the 1978 United Nations General Assembly, and the 1979 General World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC). Also planned are a UN Conference on Science and Technology in 1979, a UN conference on satellites in the early 1980s and a regional Western Hemisphere WARC Conference on satellite broadcasting in 1983. These conferences will have major impacts on the shape of world communications in the future.

In order to provide a broad perspective of world communications issues, the first chapter will present some basic contextual information. The next four chapters will deal with the historical involvement of four major international fora in the world "information order" debate. The fora are interrelated, but for clarity they will be discussed separately. In the subsequent five chapters, the underlying issues will be grouped and discussed. The assertions made by critics of the world "information order" will be explained and the roots of those assertions explored. Finally, the conclusion will offer some broad avenues for cooperation which could be explored further as means for moving beyond present confrontations.

FOOTNOTES

¹UNESCO, Television traffic--a one-way street? by Tapio Varis and Kaarle Nordenstreng, Reports and Papers on Mass Communications, No. 70 (Paris: UNESCO, 1974).

²U.S., Department of State, "Address by the Honorable Henry A. Kissinger, Secretary of State, before the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development," Nairobi, 3 May 1976, p. 13..

³U.S., Department of State, "Goals for UNESCO," Washington, 1 November 1976, p. 4.

⁴U.S., President (Carter), "Remarks of the President before the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States," Washington, 14 May 1977, p. 4.

CONTEXT

Before discussing the various international fora or the specific issues which have arisen, some basic contextual information should be presented. First, we will touch upon the emergence of the Third World and the trend in those countries toward using communications to support the drive for economic and social development. Next, we will comment upon the world-wide communications revolution which serves as a backdrop to the entire debate. Finally, we will discuss the unique communications system of the United States, and its basic divergence from the models which have developed in most democratic industrial countries, and all countries in the East Bloc and the Third World.

The Western Democratic Minority

One of the most basic changes in the post-war world has been the emergence of over a hundred poor nations (comprising two-thirds of humanity) whose overriding concern is economic, social and political development. The nations whose prime philosophical commitment is to individual liberty and to individual enterprise seem suddenly to command only a small minority of the votes in international organizations. When they vote as a bloc, Third World nations can often exercise decisive power in the UN.

In an early effort to group their forces, several developing countries had begun a "Movement of Non-Aligned Nations" over twenty years ago. The 85 nations which now participate in the Non-Aligned Movement have resolved not to become "pawns" in the East-West struggle and to develop their own models of government and of development. Still, the concrete achievements of the movement outside the UN system are difficult to appraise. What does "Third World solidarity" mean among countries whose ideologies are as different as those of Venezuela and Cuba, Ivory Coast and Tanzania, or India and China? Even though the focus of world politics has shifted toward the Third World, the superpowers continue to see events primarily in East-West terms.

In fact, the common denominator which unites diverse Third World countries is underdevelopment--the demands which it creates and the conditions which it imposes. Robert McNamara, President of the World

Bank, has often pointed out that 800 million people live in poverty so abject that Westerners can hardly imagine their plight. The battle against overpopulation and undernourishment is far from won. Not surprisingly, governments throughout the Third World are attempting to marshal all available resources for the task of promoting development.

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Communications and Development

The media of communication are becoming major instruments for promoting development. The impact of media has been extended by a vast expansion of audiences, which has taken place over the last quarter century. During the 1950s and 1960s, UNESCO, bi-lateral aid programs, and private companies vigorously promoted the development of communication infrastructure. Aided by the "transistor revolution," radio has become the world's dominant mass medium, reaching even the rural masses in the Third World. Television is also undergoing a massive expansion, although from a much smaller urban base. As media communications assume greater roles in Third World societies, pressure increases to orient media towards the massive demands of development.

Communications are important to development in many ways. The media can change attitudes, and teach new knowledge and behavior. These features can be used to support development programs. Yet for every person affected by a consciously planned developmental application of media, there are probably thousands influenced by messages designed to inform, entertain, or to sell. Initially, the overall impacts of media were assumed to be positive by such theorists as Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner. However, Lerner more recently has warned that the "revolution of rising expectations" can turn into "rising frustrations."¹ Third World governments' efforts to avoid "rising frustrations" and to use the media to stimulate active participation in development are often criticized by "free press" advocates.

In many countries, there may be no realistic alternative to media that are government financed--if not government controlled. Markets for advertising and sources of private capital are often extremely limited. Still Ithiel de Sola Pool argues that broadcasting (but not necessarily print media) could be commercially viable in any country. In most of Latin America, broadcasting is largely in private hands. In Africa and Asia, many governments have decided that broadcasting will be publicly financed. And, with government finance comes the responsibility for social and development objectives. Governments trying to maintain social order in volatile nations (and having narrow

self-interests like all institutions) will have many motivations for controlling the media.

One of the more noble motivations is "development communications," a concept whereby any and all available media are enlisted to support a given development program. One of the best known cases was Tanzania's health campaign of 1973, which used radio study groups and print materials to mobilize two million villagers to combat rural health problems. While there are many positive examples, development communication has not yet been given a chance to attain its potential in most countries.²

A related concept is "development journalism,"* which has been evolving for some ten years, primarily among print journalists. Media are used to report upon trends and processes of development in an attempt to define news values more appropriate to the Third World. This is in contrast to what is considered a Western focus upon the bizarre and the sensationalistic. Although newspaper readers are a relatively elite group in the Third World, their understanding, sympathy and political support are considered crucial to effective development planning. Still, theorists such as Narinder Aggarwala stress that "development journalism" (unlike development communication) must be free from government control, if it is to be effective and credible.³

The Communications Revolution

The deliberations of Third World nations regarding the appropriate social role of media have taken place against a back-drop of prolonged technological advance in the ability (of those with the necessary financial resources) to create, process and transmit all forms of information. Beginning around the turn of the century, moving pictures and the telephone developed, and began to be disseminated. In the 1920s radio began spreading. Since mid-century, television has emerged from the research laboratory, to occupy center stage in the world's mass culture. In less than twenty years, the geostationary communications satellite moved from the mind of science fiction writer, Arthur C. Clarke, to an operational reality. Now, the global INTELSAT system can link over 90 countries for telephone, data and television transmissions. The computer has evolved since mid-century from a cumbersome prototype calculating machine into a versatile tool for processing, switching and storing many forms of information.

*The term "development news" is generally used interchangeably with "development journalism." The term "developmental journalism" has been used by some in place of "development communication."

This revolution in communications, which shows few signs of abating, has been interpreted by many as being of central importance to the functioning of today's world. Zbigniew Brzezinski has devoted a book to the topic, in which he wrote:

The post-industrial society is becoming a "technetronic" society: a society that is shaped culturally, psychologically, socially, and economically by the impact of technology and electronics--particularly in the area of computers and communications. The industrial process is no longer the principal determinant of social change, altering the mores, the social structure, and the values of society.⁴

In his book, Brzezinski notes that media communications, often imported from the West, are prime movers of social change in the Third World as well.

As the country which invented the telephone, the motion picture camera, television, and the communications satellite, the United States has played a special role in the global communications revolution. U.S. priorities in the development and institutionalization of communications technologies have greatly influenced other countries.

America's Uniquely Commercial Media

In order to grasp the reaction by Third World countries to our media policies and products, the uniquely commercial nature of the U.S. media system must be considered in international perspective. American media are built upon the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which mandates that Congress shall pass no laws to abridge the freedom of the press. This grew out of the British tradition of using the press as an independent watchdog and check upon government. This has historically been interpreted to mean that communications should be a largely non-governmental activity in the United States.

No other major country in the world has a communications system so dedicated to private ownership and to the profit motive as America. Very few countries share the Anglo-American tradition of the press as an independent watchdog and adversary of government. In the vast majority of countries in the world (including the Western Allies), telecommunications industries are in public hands. In most countries (again including the Western Allies), broadcasting facilities are owned and operated publicly. In several Western European countries, the press receives direct government subsidies. In America, the resources

allocated to public broadcasting are a small fraction of those given over to commercial broadcasting. The only major subsidies to the private media are indirect, such as preferential postal rates for publications and broadcasters' use of scarce public airwaves without charge (although under government regulation).

George Gerbner has stressed that the creation of news, culture and technical information has become a highly selective, highly synthetic manufacturing process. In the United States, decisions regarding what to communicate (and what to ignore) and how to communicate are made on the basis of commercial criteria. To speak in traditional terms of "free speech" in the U.S. (or "free flow" internationally) may be at odds with the economic and technological realities now associated with "speech" and "flow." There is no clear consensus on how to reconcile traditional American values with the realities of today's communications systems.

The American private media often see a coincidence between American ideals, their commercial self-interest, and the appropriate direction for world communications. For instance, a Washington Post editorial responding to a UNESCO-sponsored conference on communications, argued:

Now, this newspaper, which offers its news product for foreign sale, has an undeniable self-interest in nourishing an international climate in which the commercial opportunities for Western media are maintained. But this, of course, is no different from the vested interest that the American media--being free, competitive institutions--have in maintaining the same commercial opportunities at home. It is a simple matter of principle coinciding with commercial self-interest, and the principle involved here, of course, was set forth at a rather early stage in our history, in the First Amendment to the Constitution. And if it is a sound principle for us in this country, it follows, or so it seems to us, that it is also a good rule to apply to the communication of ideas abroad. . . .⁵

In fact, the coincidence between principle and self-interest is not a "simple matter" at all. The ultimate ramifications of this extension of the First Amendment have been questioned by U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger.

In a separate but concurring opinion issued April 1978 on a case in which corporations' rights of free speech were upheld by the court (First National Bank of Boston vs. Bellotti), Chief Justice Burger noted the growth of U.S. media corporations horizontally (the growing number of chains) and vertically (newspaper ownership of paper mills and transportation) and into non-media markets, as well. He added:

In terms of 'unfair advantages in the political process' and 'corporate domination of the electoral process'. . . it could be argued that such media conglomerates as I describe pose a much more realistic threat to valid interest than do appellants and similar entities not regularly concerned with shaping popular opinion on public issues. . . In Tornillo, for example, we noted the serious contentions advanced that a result of the growth of modern media empires 'has been to place in a few hands the power to inform the American people and shape public opinion.'⁶

Chief Justice Burger concluded his concurring opinion with the statement from Pennekamp v. Florida (1946), "[T]he purpose of the Constitution was not to erect the press into a privileged institution but to protect all persons in their right to print what they will as well as to utter it. . . the liberty of the press is no greater and no less. . . than the liberty of every citizen in the Republic."⁷

Insofar as the media have commercial self-interests apart from their role as protectors of free speech, they may indeed be subject to governmental regulation. Article I, Section 8 of the U.S. Constitution empowers Congress "To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states. . ." Thus, the fruitful coincidence between principle and commercial self-interest cited by the Washington Post is open to debate even here, and calls into question the applicability of these values in international communication.

In countries which are usually recipients of American messages and technologies and which are often moving toward non-American perspectives on the social role of media, one might expect even deeper and more bitter controversies over communications.

While many Americans assume that public finance equals government control, a range of mechanisms for separating public finance from government control have been developed. One American diplomat (occupying a post related to the international debates on communications) expressed the opinion that the BBC, being publicly financed, was necessarily

less "free" than the U.S. TV networks. In fact, a serious case can be made that the two BBC channels offer a broader range of democratic political expression than the three American commercial networks.*

While most Third World governments may not be in a position to create a "BBC" for many years, varying degrees of pluralism may be allowed, according to political conditions. American representatives should become more familiar with the characteristics of the public media systems which have developed in Holland, Sweden, Tanzania, Nigeria and elsewhere. Americans must also recognize the uniqueness of their media and the political and economic conditions under which they evolved. Continued insistence upon private media as the only acceptable model will only alienate Western Allies with public-financed, yet "free," media and reduce U.S. credibility and influence in countries where private media have not been judged a viable option.

Just as many American representatives find it hard to believe that government-financed media might be "free," many Third World spokesmen may not believe that American media are free from U.S. government influence. They also tend to see the present "information order" as linked to U.S. commercial interests, which in turn serve overall U.S. government interests. Both the present "information order" and the "economic order" are seen to operate against the best interests of the Third World. Dependence in news and culture is seen as related to economic, technological and political dependence. American spokesmen should take these allegations seriously and develop credible and reasoned responses.

The Terminology

The terminology used in the current debate on the world "information order" is confusing, and deserves comment. The term originated in the meetings of non-aligned nations, where information ministers concentrated on news--the type of communication most crucial to their own jobs and most important to their governments. Other voices have stressed the longer term impact of imported entertainment programming upon cultures and have favored the word "communication" over "information" in order to suggest a broader frame.

*Based on conversations, viewing experience, and opinions of the study director.

Another group using the word "communication" are the professionals and academics involved in the effort to define the "right to communicate." From their perspective (discussed in Chapter 10), the term "information order" suggests mass distribution of centrally manufactured messages, while a new "communication order" suggests participation in dialogue at the community, national and global levels.

Advocating an even broader focus, students of the "information society" include traditional libraries and computer networks within their purview. Even lawyers, managers and doctors are considered "information workers" by some. Information is considered an economic and social building block as basic as energy or raw materials. Some observers consider this definition of information too broad and unfocussed.

However, for a survey reviewing existing controversies and anticipating future ones, this broad perspective is ideal. Therefore, the term "information order" will be used, but will encompass much more than was initially discussed by the information ministers of the non-aligned countries. As will be demonstrated, the non-aligned countries have also broadened their focus.

FOOTNOTES

¹ Daniel Lerner, "Technology, Communication, and Change," Communication and Change, The Last Ten Years--and the Next, ed. Wilbur Schramm and Daniel Lerner (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1976), pp. 291-293.

² Budd L. Hall, Mtu Ni Afya: Tanzania's Health Campaign (Washington: Academy for Educational Development, 1978).

³ Narinder Aggarwala, "Press Freedom: A Third World View," Development Communication Report, No. 19, July 1977, p. 1.

⁴ Zbigniew Brzezinski, Between Two Ages: America's Role in the Technotronic Era (New York: Penguin, 1970), p. 9.

⁵ "UNESCO's Assault on News," The Washington Post, 30 July 1976, p. A22.

⁶ "First National Bank of Boston et al., Appellants v. Francis X. Bellotti, etc., et al.," Supreme Court Reporter, Vol. 98, No. 14, 15 May 1978, pp. 1426-27.

⁷ Ibid., p. 1429.

THE UNITED NATIONS

In the early years of the United Nations, the primary dichotomy in the world was between the communist East and the capitalist West. The colonial empires of the Western nations were only beginning to break up. The UN had a much smaller membership (in 1945 the UN had 50 members, today it has 149) and for the most part Western ideals predominated. The debates that took place during this earlier period and the treaties, declarations and conventions which grew out of them relate to the present and the future in a very real way. They are frequently invoked to support or refute positions taken in debates. Although these documents may not always carry the rule of law they do have some moral and psychological weight in the eyes of numerous policy-makers throughout the world. Therefore, it is necessary to briefly review some of the more important UN documents before entering into a discussion of more recent information issues.

UN Documents Concerning Information

The UN Charter included initial formulations in broad terms of fundamental principles on human rights, including those of freedom of speech and information. These rights have been further elaborated in subsequent UN documents. The Charter also emphasized national sovereignty as being vital to the maintenance of peace and security.

In 1946, the UN Declaration on Freedom of Information made initial reference to the flow of information:

all states should proclaim policies under which the free flow of information within countries and across frontiers, will be protected. The right to seek and transmit information should be insured in order to enable the public to ascertain facts and appraise events...¹

Two years later, the United Nations held the Freedom of Information Conference in Geneva, where differing views arose on how "freely" information should flow. The United States called for "free and unrestricted flow." The Soviets maintained that no true freedom of communications existed so long as the means to communicate in the West

were controlled by a small wealthy group. A middle position called for a formula which would seek to control the flow in specified cases where it was perceived to violate national sovereignty. Even today, after years of deliberation, agreement has not been reached on a draft Convention on Freedom of Information, because of conflicting legal and ideological positions.

Of particular importance among past UN actions is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights passed by the General Assembly (UNGA) in 1948 by a vote of 48 states for, none against, and eight abstentions (Eastern Bloc, South Africa and Saudi Arabia). Although the Declaration is not legally binding, it carries great moral and psychological weight with UN members. Article 19 of this document has often been referred to in numerous international fora, particularly UNESCO. It reads:

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions...and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.²

Article 2 extends the document's affirmation of basic human rights to every individual "without distinction of any kind" including the "limitation of sovereignty."³

In an effort to confer legal status upon some of the principles of the Universal Declaration, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights was adopted by the General Assembly in 1966 following years of deliberation. In Article 19 of the Covenant, rights of freedom of expression and opinion are reaffirmed, although with the stipulation that these rights carry with them certain duties and responsibilities, including respect of the rights of others and protection of national security and domestic order. Article 20 of the same document outlaws war propaganda and any national or religious activities which are designed to incite conflict or violence.⁴

Numerous other resolutions and conventions adopted by the General Assembly are often invoked during discussions at various international organizations. Among these are Resolution 110 (II), passed in 1947, which condemns all forms of conflict-inciting propaganda and the International Convention on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (1963) whose Article 4 condemns all forms of racist propaganda.

United Nations Activities Concerning
the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space

With the launching of the first space satellite, the UN became involved in questions relating to outer space. In 1959, the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (hereafter referred to as COPUOS) was established. COPUOS was assigned numerous tasks, among which was the study of the legal problems arising from outer space activities. For this reason, this committee has become the focal point for space legislation. COPUOS has two sub-bodies: the Scientific & Technical Sub-Committee and the Legal Sub-Committee. At various times, COPUOS has also seen fit to establish working groups to discuss issues that were particularly urgent. It is in these sub-bodies of the COPUOS (where agreement is reached by consensus rather than vote) that much of the nuts and bolts work on space problems is carried out. Largely due to Third World pressures, the membership of COPUOS has increased from 18 in 1958 to the present 47.*

Relevant UN Documents Dealing with Space Law

Beginning in the early 1960s, the United Nations produced documents which are generally considered the basis for space law. In 1963, the "Declaration of Legal Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space" was adopted unanimously by the General Assembly. The Outer Space Treaty** of 1967 brought many of the provisions of the above-mentioned declaration into law. The Treaty embraces three major principles: (1) Outer Space is to

* Initially in 1958 COPUOS included Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Iran, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Poland, Sweden, the U.S.S.R., United Arab Republic, United Kingdom and the United States. Since that time, Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Lebanon, Romania, Chad, Mongolia, Morocco, Sierra Leone, Chile, the German Democratic Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany, Indonesia, Kenya, Nigeria, Pakistan, the Sudan, Venezuela, Benin, Colombia, Ecuador, Iraq, the Netherlands, Niger, Phillipines, Turkey, United Republic of Cameroon and Yugoslavia have become members.

** "Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and other bodies.

remain the "province of all mankind" to which all nations shall have equal access (Article 1). (2) Exploration, use and scientific investigation shall be carried out "in accordance with international law, including the Charter of the United Nations, in the interest of maintaining international peace and security and promoting international cooperation and understanding" (Article 3). (3) Outer Space, including the Moon and other celestial bodies, shall not be used for any military purposes whatsoever, although military personnel may be used for scientific investigation (Article 4).

Direct Broadcast Satellites

Until the late 1960s, the activities of COPUOS were marked by a spirit of cooperation. However, the rising possibility of direct television broadcasting and remote-sensing by satellite led to a sharpening of discussions within COPUOS. The first controversy arose over the direct broadcasting satellite (DBS).

In 1969, during COPUOS's annual session, the positions of the major actors in the debates over DBS began to manifest themselves. The Soviets took the stand that countries should be legally bound to obtain "prior consent" from receiving governments before broadcasting from space by satellite. The United States opposed this notion as contrary to the Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and as a threat to the free flow of information. As pointed out by Dr. G.C.M. Reijnen, "the items of prior consent and free flow of information would prove to be the Scylla and Charybdis between which a Draft Treaty on DBS would have to find its way."⁵

In 1969, as a result of a joint Swedish-Canadian initiative, an ad hoc Working Group on Direct Broadcast Satellites was formed to consider the technical, legal and political aspects of DBS. However, no consensus was reached in this Working Group to establish legal instruments to govern DBS. Some participants felt that the possibility of widespread application of such technology would not come until 1980 and, thus, the call for regulation of DBS was premature.

Nonetheless, in 1972, the debate over DBS began to intensify as the U.S.S.R. introduced a proposal to the UNGA for a binding convention of principles for television transmissions from satellites. In essence, this was a call for a more "regulatory" response to DBS than previous policies, which had been characterized by a Western laissez faire attitude. Some delegations considered this necessary, since the Outer Space Treaty had not dealt with outer space activities whose direct

effects would be essentially earthbound (such as direct television broadcasting from space, which appeared to have very definite political implications).⁶

The United States took a strongly negative stance toward the Soviet proposals, calling them premature and unduly restrictive. Consistent with previous (and present) American policy, it was felt that any outside regulations whatsoever would constitute a threat to the cherished tradition of unrestricted flow of information. Much to the Americans' dismay, however, the desire to establish some measures of regulatory principle governing DBS extended far beyond the Soviet Union.

By a vote of 102 to 1, with the United States the lone nay vote, the UNGA called upon COPUOS to "elaborate principles governing the use by States of artificial earth satellites for direct television broadcasting with a view toward concluding an international agreement or agreements." Behind this astoundingly lopsided vote was the fear widely expressed by a large number of states that the U.S. would use its tremendous technological advantage for political, cultural or commercial purposes.

The U.S. continues to maintain the position that regulations should be allowed to evolve as the technology develops. The Soviets, numerous Third World countries, (Argentina and Brazil prominent among these) and even some more moderate developed countries (Canada and Sweden) have made efforts to get established principles to put some degree of control on DBS.

The debates concerning DBS center around the conflict of two principles--the free flow of information and national sovereignty. On the one hand is a real worry by less developed states that their entire system--economic, social and political--will be overwhelmed by foreign television messages (these would be broadcast from space and would supposedly be less susceptible to control, and, therefore, more dangerous than messages transmitted by other means of broadcasting). On the other hand, is the strong political and commercial interest of the United States in unrestricted exchange of information which the Americans see as necessary for the full development of all states.

Presently, COPUOS and its sub-bodies continue to consider the elaboration of principles governing DBS. A consensus has been reached with regard to several draft principles including: purpose and objectives, applicability of international law, rights and benefits, international cooperation, State responsibility, duty and right to consult, peaceful settlement of disputes, copyright and neighboring

rights, and notification.* The central problem remains to define the relationship between sending and receiving states; the unresolved issues being consent and participation, program content and unlawful/inadmissible broadcasts.

"Remote-Sensing

The remote sensing issue arose later in COPUOS than the DBS issue, but it has been similarly controversial. The massive American lead in developing this technology and the launch of Landsat I in 1972 increased concern in the Committee regarding the social, political and legal implications of remote-sensing. (Some would say that NASA's practice of unlimited availability of data derived from earth observation is a self-denial of the American advantage.) As was the case in DBS, the Outer Space Treaty and subsequent space conventions failed to provide detailed guidelines as to how remote-sensing may be performed and what, if any, limitations might be imposed for the benefit of sovereign and individual rights.⁷ However, one article of the treaty which could enter the debates is the stipulation that Outer Space is not subject to national appropriation "by claims of sovereignty, means of use or occupation, or by any other means." This provision would conflict with the desire of some states to claim the space above their country in order to restrict and control the placement of satellites.

There is general agreement among all parties that the potential benefits from remote-sensing are enormous and for this reason there is little support for its prevention or restriction. However, controversy has arisen over how the data derived from remote-sensing should be disseminated.

In 1973, the Soviets submitted a draft list of principles for regulation of remote-sensing activity from outer space. A central provision of this draft list reaffirmed the sovereignty of states over their natural resources and went on to add that this sovereignty should cover information concerning these resources. (In 1962, the General Assembly passed a Resolution on Permanent Sovereignty Over Natural Resources.) The Soviet proposals also include a provision stating that

*For a more detailed discussion see: Reijnen, Dr. G.C.M., "Direct Broadcasting by Satellites," Zeitschrift für Luft-Und Weltraumrecht, 26:4 (December 1977), pp. 280-287.

the consent of the sensed state should be required before information about its natural resources could be disseminated.*

Interestingly, an even more restrictive regime was put forth by the Argentine delegation. This proposal, which had the support of some of the other Latin American states (Brazil prominent among them), called for the "prohibition of any remote-sensing activity relating to natural resources under national jurisdiction without prior consent."⁸

Taking a position nearly opposite to the two above proposals has been the United States. The Americans have supported a policy of open-sensing of the earth's natural resources and the free distribution of data derived therefrom.

An attempt to reconcile the conflicting positions in the debate have been proposals calling for the establishment of one or more international bodies, perhaps under UN auspices, to oversee remote-sensing, and take care of the storage, processing, and dissemination of data collected.

Recognizing the importance of an uninterrupted flow of data from remote-sensing satellites, (for example, information derived from remote sensing is valuable in disaster relief and prediction) efforts have been made in COPUOS and its sub-groups to make a distinction between primary data, meaning data acquired by satellite which has not yet been fully processed, and analyzed information, which is the product after processing. Recently, on the basis of the definitions developed by its sub-bodies, both terms and their definitions (which are only roughly described here) have been endorsed by COPUOS. (It should be noted that decisions of COPUOS are only recommendations which must be approved by the General Assembly.) However, the issue of how this data should be disseminated remains problematic. Most delegations feel that dissemination of primary data as well as analyzed information to third parties should not be to the detriment, economic or otherwise, of the sensed nation. In opposition to this, the United States maintains that analyzed information is the work product of, and the property of, the analyzer and therefore should not be treated in the same manner as primary data.

*The Soviets have reaffirmed their position in a proposal given to the Secretary General on June 28, 1978 calling for a "convention on transfer and use of data of the remote sensing of the earth from outer space."

Conclusion

Other important issues which continue to take up much time in the meetings of COPUOS and its sub-bodies are: the matter of spacial resolution (open dissemination of data with resolutions--focus--finer than 50 metres might affect the economic and/or defense interests of sensed states); and the physical, technical and legal attributes of geostationary orbits. Included in the discussions over the latter issue is the position of the Equatorial States, who demand that air rights over their countries are a natural resource and belong to them. In addition, there continues to be some discussion of the definition of outer space, although it is highly doubtful any agreement will be reached on this in the foreseeable future.

To sum up, numerous crucial issues remain under discussion in COPUOS. It seems that the differing views on the free flow of communication and its relationship to the sovereign rights of states brought into sharper focus by the tremendous potentialities of direct broadcast and earth resources satellites will continue to be a central problem made more difficult by the conflicting ideological perspectives of the major parties involved.*

*Controversy in COPUOS concerning the recent crash in Canada of a Soviet satellite, which contained radioactive material, has also infringed on the discussions, exacerbating differences over DBS and remote sensing.

FOOTNOTES.

¹United Nations General Assembly Resolution 59 (I), 14 December 1946.

²Ian Brownlie (ed.), Basic Documents in International Law (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 135.

³Jon T. Powell, "Direct Broadcast Satellite: The Conceptual Covergence of the Free Flow of Information and National Sovereignty," California Western International Law Journal, 6:7 (Winter 1975), p. 10.

⁴Brownlie, pp. 157-158.

⁵G.C.M. Reijnen, "Direct Broadcasting by Satellites," Zeitschrift für Luft- und Weltraumrecht, 26:4 (December 1977), pp. 280-281.

⁶Nancy M. Lesko, "Legal Implications of Direct Satellite Broadcasting--The UN Working Group," Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law, 6:2 (Summer 1976), p. 564.

⁷Hamilton De Saussure, "Remote Sensing by Satellite: What Future for an International Regime," The American Journal of International Law, 71:4 (October 1977), p. 710.

⁸Ibid., p. 720.

UNESCO

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization has long been involved in communication related issues. In fact, UNESCO in recent years has become a forum where the world information order debates are most evident.

UNESCO speaks on these issues through many voices. The Biennial General Conferences of UNESCO are attended by official delegations from all the member nations. At the General Conferences the member states determine the activities to be carried out by the UNESCO secretariat during the next two years. These activities include research, field projects, meetings of experts, regional conferences and seminars. Participants in these activities come from the UNESCO Secretariat, member states, academia and a variety of professional fields.

Background 1945 - 1969

UNESCO's involvement with the media in news and culture was mandated in Article 1 of the UNESCO constitution, which states that the Organization will:

collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end, recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word or image.¹

Thus, UNESCO was to propagate the Western concept of free flow of information reflecting, as was the case in the UN during its early years, the powerful influence of Western ideas in international fora following World War II. This influence was enhanced in UNESCO by the absence of the Soviet Union, which boycotted the organization until 1954.

UNESCO's principle labors in the information field in the 1950s were in technical assistance. Programs aimed at building communication infrastructures constituted, in many people's minds, a major UNESCO contribution to the developing world during this period. However,

problems arose. Western models were nearly always used and in many cases proved unworkable, and even harmful, in non-Western settings. In any case, the philosophy that "more and more media are a good thing" prevailed in UNESCO through most of the 1960s.

Behind this was the assumption that exposure to mass media would create attitudes favorable to modernization and development. In general, communication content was given less emphasis by UNESCO than was the development of communication infrastructure.

Although it was not until the 1970s that dependence upon Western media models and products became a major issue, there were inklings of what was to come in the early 1960s. In Bangkok, 1960; in Santiago, 1961; and in Paris, 1962, regional meetings on news and information were convened by UNESCO. At these meetings, the problems of regional information flow came strongly to the fore. However, the focus was on the quantity of news being disseminated rather than its quality. All three meetings recommended the establishment of regional news agencies. (Interestingly, a Latin American news agency had been proposed as early as 1934.)

Nonetheless, support for the basic tenet of free flow continued to characterize most UNESCO statements throughout the 1960s. For example, in 1966 the UNESCO Declaration of Principles of International Cultural Cooperation stated that "broad dissemination of ideas and knowledge, based on the freest exchange and discussion, is essential to create activity the pursuit of truth and the development of the personality" (Article VIII).

UNESCO Activities Concerning Information Issues, 1969-1978

At a 1969 UNESCO meeting of experts in Montreal, an early reference was made to the concept of the "two-way circulation of news" and "the balanced circulation of news," terminology that would become very familiar at subsequent UNESCO meetings. Participants suggested that measures be taken to encourage flow from the Third World to the West and to eliminate the barriers which had prevented this.²

In 1970, the 16th General Conference of the Organization authorized the Director General "to help member states in the formulation of their mass communication policies." At this same General Conference, under the leadership of the Indian delegation, a group of developing countries emphasized in the general debate their concern with the problem of imbalance in the world flow of information.

Concerns similar to those expressed in the 1970s in the United Nations regarding the possibility of direct television broadcasting by satellites to home receivers were also heard in UNESCO. The fear grew among numerous Third World countries and, in some cases, developed countries that the United States' media power and technology (symbolized most impressively by communication satellites) would have a harmful impact on local ethnic aims, cultures and media institutions.³

In response to these growing concerns, the Soviet Union submitted a resolution calling for a "Declaration of Guiding Principles on the Use of Satellite Broadcasting for the Free Flow of Information, the Spread of Education and Cultural Exchange" at the 17th UNESCO General Conference in 1972. At the same time the Soviets presented their own draft declaration, whose Article IX called for the principle of prior consent to be applied to broadcasts from satellites. The final vote clearly indicated that support for a declaration of principles, albeit not so restrictive as the Soviet's desired, was not limited to communist bloc states. It was adopted by a vote of 55 to 7 with 22 abstentions. The U.S. voted against the resolution.

At the same conference, another Soviet-sponsored resolution--strongly supported by Third World members--called upon the Director General to prepare a declaration on "the fundamental principles governing the use of the mass media with a view to strengthening peace and understanding and combating war propaganda, racialism, and apartheid" (hereafter referred to as mass media draft declaration). This item was to become a hotly debated issue in the coming years.

At the 1974 UNESCO General Conference, the theme of "free flow" was again discussed. The view was expressed that "free flow" had little meaning for those who lack the means to communicate. It was felt that before States could participate equally in the flow, they would have to be on a "free and equal footing." Thus, there was a call for practical action which would strengthen and expand communication capabilities and help correct imbalances.

The conference also discussed the first draft of the mass media declaration, written by a Swedish international law expert. It had been initially discussed at a March 1974 meeting of nongovernmental experts. Since no agreement was reached, it was decided that a decision on the mass media draft declaration should be delayed. A resolution was passed by the General Conference calling for an intergovernmental meeting of experts to study this issue.

In December of 1975, in response to that resolution, an intergovernmental meeting of experts took place in Paris, assigned with the task of drafting an acceptable mass media declaration. At this meeting, which was marred by the withdrawal of the U.S. delegation and twelve other Western delegations, after the introduction of the "Zionism/Racism" issue, a draft was approved. This draft was, however, unacceptable to the Americans and others. In particular, Article XII of the draft asserting that "States are responsible for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction," was seen as contrary to the western tradition of independent and private media. In view of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, the U.S. Government could not accept responsibility (because it could exercise no control over) the international activities of private American media enterprises.

As further preparation for the 19th General Conference, the ministerial-level Intergovernmental Conference on Communications Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean convened in Costa Rica in July of 1976. (Latin America is the one region of the developing world with vigorous private press and broadcasting.) Predictably, the meeting took place in an atmosphere of tension caused by open hostility between UNESCO staff and representatives of the Inter-American Press Association (the trade association of the Hemisphere's press) and many U.S. press representatives concerned with Latin America.

The resulting recommendations seemed to most Western observers to be less adversarial than those of earlier meetings. A proposal on a journalistic code of ethics was killed and proposals on regional news agencies were modified to include language protecting existing agencies. But the recommendations still seemed threatening in tone to many U.S. and Latin American observers and participants regarding freedom of the press.

Nairobi

The debates over the world information order rose to a high pitch at the 19th General Conference in 1976 in Nairobi. Sharp criticism of the mass media draft declaration was expressed by Western diplomats, politicians and journalists, especially. On the other side, proponents repeated and intensified criticisms voiced at earlier UNESCO meetings which pointed to imbalance in information flow and to distortion and cultural bias in reporting and in cultural products from the West.

Although some opponents of the draft declaration concurred in the view that there was an imbalance in the world information flow and the need to take constructive action to correct it, they were not prepared to accept what they perceived as an overly restrictive regime. Again, as in previous meetings of UNESCO, it was the clause mandating governmental responsibility "for the activities in the international sphere of all mass media under their jurisdiction" which stirred the most controversy. However, decision on the mass media draft declaration was deferred when a commission voted 78-15 to table it. In its place, a resolution inviting the Director General to hold further consultations with experts with the goal of preparing a final draft mass media declaration which would meet with the largest possible measure of agreement was adopted.⁴

Also accepted at the General Conference was a resolution offered by Tunisia (a country which has often tried to separate North-South issues from the East-West dichotomy in information order debates). It is interesting to note that this resolution grew out of the 1976 Colombo Conference of Heads of State of the Non-aligned. At this conference, Tunisia was given the mandate to present UNESCO with the "international information order" question as discussed by the non-aligned and to seek UNESCO's support for some of the positions of the non-aligned regarding information. The resolution made specific mention of the Non-aligned News Agencies Pool (this will be discussed later on) and called on the Secretary General to give assistance to it. Interestingly, the U.S. supported this resolution. This is seen by some observers as an indication that the Americans accept the Non-aligned News Agencies Pool and support UNESCO's assistance of it.

The U.S. and many other delegations at Nairobi saw the Tunisian Resolution as a compromise that would provide the parties with more time to deliberate. It would also give the West the opportunity to take constructive action to aid Third World communications structures. The United States, in response, seemed ready to offer its help. This was perhaps best expressed by the U.S. delegation leader at Nairobi, Ambassador John E. Reinhardt, when he stated:

We believe that the United States and other nations in which are found highly developed mass media facilities and capabilities should endeavor to make available, through bilateral and multi-lateral channels, both private and governmental, assistance to other states in helping to develop their mass media. Furthermore, it is the strong conviction of the United States that UNESCO itself, in its future planning must accord a high priority to expanding and strengthening, through its

regular program and budget, assistance to member states in helping them further develop their communications capacities.⁵

A call for UNESCO to reinforce its work in the field of free flow of information and communication policies including programs to further develop inter alia training and equipment for regional and national news agencies was also included:

Since Nairobi, efforts have continued to develop a satisfactory draft of a mass media declaration. However, the U.S. and some other governments have opposed the successive drafts which have been formulated by the UNESCO Secretariat. They have been viewed as unduly restrictive and contrary to the constitutional mandate of UNESCO. Although the U.S. has not denied there is an imbalance and the need for a better message flow into the United States from the Third World, the position is maintained that "the most effective way to reduce the current imbalance is not by inhibiting the communications capacity of some but by increasing the communication capacity of all." Lists of international responsibilities and guidelines for the mass media are unacceptable to the U.S. They feel that the nature of the relationship between the media and government is conditioned by the particular social and political characteristics of each system. In the U.S. view, UNESCO declarations should allow for a diversity of communication structures.

The MacBride Commission

A noteworthy outgrowth of Nairobi was an International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. This commission includes 16 members, all eminent in the communications field, and representative of a wide spectrum of ideas.

Criticisms have been leveled at the composition of the commission from all sides. The Latin American representatives have been called too marxist in orientation to represent a continent with mostly commercial media. The Asians have been called too Western-oriented. Some critics have charged there are too many government representatives, although commission members have been asked to serve as individuals.

The task of the so-called "wise men," according to UNESCO Director General M'Bow, is to:

search for general agreement on the manner in which men should organize free and balanced exchanges of information and for ways and means whereby the communication media may contribute more effectively to the progress of peoples and their mutual understanding.⁶

The Commission must submit a report to the Director General in mid-1979. In the meantime, a preliminary report will be presented at the upcoming UNESCO General Conference in October of this year.

The head of the Commission, Sean MacBride, winner of both the Nobel and Lenin Peace Prizes, at the "wise men's" first meeting in December 1977, listed four key questions which would receive attention:

- What is meant by the free and balanced flow of information?
- What does a "new world information order" mean and what is its inter-relationship with the new international economic order?
- How may the "right to communicate," with all its ethical and legal implications, be achieved as a new line of thought and action in the whole communication field?
- How can the objectivity and independence of the media be assured and protected?

Thus far, the Commission has made little progress in resolving these issues. At a recent commission-sponsored seminar in Stockholm in April of this year, which gathered together representatives of the major news agencies and their Third World counterparts to talk about the infra-structures of news suppliers, basic ideological differences again manifested themselves. On the one hand, the free flow of ideas is seen as a veil for propaganda and commercial penetration. On the other hand, it is viewed as an ultimate social good essential for the progress of humankind. As one side calls for "duties and responsibilities" for the media to follow, a concept which implies regulation, the other condemns any regulations as censorship and an effort to destroy free press.

Conclusion

To some observers these differing positions often seem to follow old East versus West lines. It would be simplistic, however, to view the

problem in the traditional East-West framework. The demands for a new information order heard in UNESCO do not originate in Moscow. Perhaps, it would be better to say that Moscow aspires to lead the critiques of the Western press, a strategy which could backfire. It is far from clear that most Third World nations care to accept the direct subservience of all media to a single centralized party apparatus as in the East bloc. This does not imply that they desire media organized according to Western models either. Third World statements such as those from the meeting at Costa Rica suggest a desire to promote broad participation and access in the communication process.

The fact that the U.S. has failed to initiate any major projects to aid Third World communication development since the optimistic speeches made by Americans at Nairobi could be a future cause of controversy, although some would say that the American statements at Nairobi were in the form of offers and that the Third World has failed to make any major requests in response. In any case, there are indications that the tone of the debate mellowed somewhat in 1977.

Those who strongly oppose a restrictive mass media draft declaration are encouraged by the fact that great emphasis within UNESCO has been placed on reaching a consensus on this issue. This would seem to protect the U.S. from the adoption of a declaration that is contrary to its interests. The true test of the situation, however, may be when the mass media draft declaration is brought up for discussion this October at the UNESCO 20th General Conference in Paris. It is also possible that final decision on this issue will be deferred until the MacBride Commission finishes its deliberations in mid-1979.

FOOTNOTES

¹Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, art. I, sec. 2.

²Hifzi Topuz, "UNESCO and the Role of Mass Media," The Democratic Journalist, February 1978, p. 16.

³Gunnar R. Naesselund, "Introduction to the New Order of Information," Africa Mass Media, No. 5, p. 21.

⁴UNESCO, Records of the General Conference Nineteenth Session Nairobi October 26 - November 25, 1976, Resolutions and Recommendations, 4.143.

⁵U.S. Department of State, "Goals for UNESCO," News Release, Speech by Ambassador John R. Rheinhardt at the General Conference of UNESCO, Nairobi, November 1, 1976, p. 4.

⁶UNESCO, Address by Mr. Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow (Paris, December 14, 1977), p. 7.

⁷Sean MacBride, "Communications in the Service of Mankind," Irish Broadcasting Review, (Spring 1978), p. 12.

INTERNATIONAL TELECOMMUNICATION UNION

Background

The oldest UN agency traces its history back to the 1865 Conference of the International Telegraphic Union, where twenty European states met in Paris to establish rules for the transmission of telegraph messages across national boundaries. Previously, such messages had had to be transmitted to the border, walked across the frontier, and retransmitted.

The International Telegraphic Union was opened to all countries with the hopes that agreements for "interference free" communication could be formulated. At Berlin in 1906, another union was formed by twenty-seven maritime states to regulate radio. The Radio-telegraphic Union, as it was then called, recognized the value of radio communication to ships at sea.

In 1932, at the Madrid International Telecommunications Convention, these two unions merged to form the International Telecommunication Union. At the 1947 Atlantic City Plenipotentiary Conference, the ITU became a specialized agency of the United Nations, linking the ITU in many ways to the deliberations of the UN.

The ITU has had to keep up with the quick pace of technological development--from the telegraph, to the first crystal sets, to television service, to the transistor, and to satellites--all in less than a century. Today, transmissions via radio waves are crucial to news agency wire services, telephone data communication, navigation, maritime and aeronautical communication, as well as to broadcasting.

This expansion of the tasks assigned to ITU has often been reflected in the World Administrative Radio Conferences called by ITU. Specialized WARCs are called with considerable regularity to deal with specific and often complex problems. The 1971 WARC dealt with space communications; that of 1974, with maritime services; the 1977 WARC with Direct Broadcast Satellites in the 12 GHz band; and the 1978 WARC with the frequency allotment plan for aeronautical mobile services.

In 1979, the first General WARC in 20 years will be held. It will have a broad mandate to review and, where necessary, revise international

regulations which govern frequency allocation and coordination procedures for the entire electromagnetic spectrum and to set the regulatory framework for telecommunications to the end of the century,

But changes in the international environment and within ITU could make the 1979 WARC even more momentous.

The Changing Environment

The function of most WARCs is to allocate frequencies on an exclusive or shared basis to the growing variety of services which the electromagnetic spectrum can support, and to establish protocols which govern their use and minimize the possibilities of interference among different services and among different nations. Historically, ITU has required each nation planning to use a portion of the spectrum in a manner which impacts on other countries to notify the International Frequency Registration Board (IFRB) and, where conditions warrant, to seek the concurrence of neighboring administrations which might be affected.

The changing situation in world politics has, however, had its impact on ITU and WARC procedures. The emergence of new and less developed nations has been reflected in the growing membership of ITU in which each country has a single vote. ITU now has 154 members, of which over 100 are Third World countries. These nations have raised their collective voice in concern over "equal access" to telecommunications.

They fear that the principle of "first-come, first-served" traditionally followed by the ITU's Frequency Registration Board has favored the interests of the advanced countries, who are generally the first to make use of a given frequency. As a result, the LDCs are demanding frequency and orbital arc allotments on a country-by-country basis instead of on a "first-come, first-served" basis. The LDCs are pushing for a priori assignments to assure their possession of adequate spectrum space when they acquire more communication technology at some future time. The 1979 WARC may consider the concept of reserved allocations for LDCs with the possibility of "rental payments" by developed countries who want to use these orbital slots while LDCs increase their technical capabilities.

Equal Access

The first challenges to the rule of "first-come, first-served" were at the 1971, 1974 and 1977 WARCs. The 1971 Space WARC established the definition of the broadcasting satellite service and allocated suitable frequency bands. One analyst said this WARC first "laid down the principle of equal rights in the frequency bands for space radio communication services and stated that the international registration of frequency assignments did not provide permanent priority for any individual country or groups of countries."¹ This challenge of the "first-come, first-served" system was a clear indication that the developing countries wanted guaranteed future access to the frequency spectrum.

The "first-come, first-served" principle was abandoned again at the 1974 Maritime WARC. Frequencies were allocated to land-locked nations which have neither navies nor merchant marines with which to communicate. First registration of a frequency was given no precedence over later registration.

At the 1977 WARC (on Broadcasting Satellites), an orbit plan for domestic satellite TV was adopted for Region 1 (Europe, Africa) and Region 3 (Asia). "The Plan," as participants call it, was a complex computer-generated table of frequency and orbital slot assignments, allotting four or five channels for each nation within the regions. The U.S. opposed a priori assignments to nations that would not be in a position to use the assignments for many years. The argument was successful in Region 2 (the Americas), where decisions were put off until a regional conference now scheduled for 1983. Interestingly, the computer used to generate "The Plan" was at the American Jet Propulsion Laboratory in California, and American technicians, necessarily, aided in its development.

"The Plan" appealed to Third World delegates because they were able to return home with the promise of four or five satellite channels to be utilized on some future day. But, it must be noted that the delegates from Europe supported "The Plan" as well, but for different reasons. With many small, developed countries packed tightly into the area, frequencies for terrestrial broadcasting are very crowded. Since the band is allocated on an equal basis for space and terrestrial use, the Europeans were eager to set the assignments for space frequencies so that they could get on with the development of terrestrial broadcasting on the remaining channels.

The U.S. objections to a priori assignments are made on what they feel to be pragmatic grounds. They feel that valuable communications resources would be wasted by assigning them to administrations which cannot make use of them. Such assignments, they feel, lock all communications users into master plans based upon technical parameters which, in this rapidly developing field, are already out of date before they are adopted.

Despite U.S. disagreement with "The Plan," U.S. engineers at the 1977 WARC helped in its technical design, and the U.S. delegation did not register formal disagreement with its application to Regions 2 and 3.*

In the ITU, largely an organization of engineering administrators, disagreements at the political level may not mar work at the technical level as much as might be the case in other UN bodies. The changing ITU environment has meant that political and economic concerns, such as those voiced in the UN's Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS), within UNESCO and at Non-Aligned Country Conferences, have been added to engineering priorities on efficient and interference-free use of the spectrum.

Prior Consent

In the other direction, a major UN issue which has been affected by ITU deliberations is the proposals for prior consent from receiving governments as a requirement before broadcasting by satellite across borders would be allowed. While the diplomats have debated this issue for many years on a political level, the ITU--which would have to develop the technical standards for implementing any such broadcasting--has made several determinations in the area of which many diplomats are probably unaware.

First, the 1977 WARC, which allocated frequencies and slots for direct satellite broadcasting, was not concerned with international broadcasting--except in the case of previously agreed upon regional arrangements--and therefore no frequencies were allocated for general international broadcasting by satellite.

*Since WARC agreements have treaty status, they need Senate ratification. As yet, the U.S. Senate has not considered the WARC 1977 decisions.

ITU eschews the imprecise term "direct broadcast satellites" used in the UN and UNESCO in favor of two classes: community reception and individual reception. The 1971 WARC established the 2.5 GHz band assignment for broadcast satellites for community reception; the 1977 WARC's Plan established the parameters for broadcast satellites-individual reception in Regions 1 and 3. While the actions at these WARCs certainly impact upon the dream/nightmare politicians have of transborder "DBS," engineers recognize that the technology, economics and ITU frequency allocations mitigate against television broadcasting from space into presently available unmodified TV receivers. (Broadcasting by FM radio is more immediately feasible, and while the U.S. plans no such proposals, the matter has been studied by the European Broadcasting Union, for domestic use, at least.)

Secondly, it is important to recognize that an ITU ruling from the Space WARC of 1971 on spillover may have mandated the very prior consent on technical grounds which the U.S. has vigorously opposed and continues to oppose on political grounds. Article 428 A of the agreement, which grew out of the 1971 WARC (which the U.S. signed), stated that:

In devising the characteristics of a space station in the broadcasting-satellite service, all technical means available shall be used to reduce, to the maximum extent practicable, the radiation over the territory of other countries unless an agreement has been previously reached with such countries.²

This has been interpreted to provide sufficient grounds for any country to object to any unwanted satellite broadcast signal from outside its borders on the technical basis of interference with its own transmissions.

In addition, technical standards have been improving, so that unintentional spillover from satellite broadcasts is becoming less likely.

WARC 1979 Issues

While the more recent, specialized WARCs have, to a certain extent, "settled" the questions of equal access and prior consent, these issues could be redebated under the 1979 General WARC's broad mandate. Additionally, some other issues which have received less notice until now could be the center of much more attention. Frequency allotments in the High Frequency, S-band and C-bands could draw special attention, along with the politically touchy subject of remote sensing.

High Frequency Radio

Debate is likely to surface in regard to the High Frequency (HF) band, 3-30 MHz, in which a wide variety of services are found. Of particular interest is international broadcasting service, since these frequencies are the only ones allocated to transborder broadcasting. There is some fear that debates on "prior consent" could spill over and pose a threat to the Voice of America. The U.S. is interested in obtaining part of the current HF fixed service allocation for shortwave broadcasting (VOA). Mobile radio services, however, are also important to the U.S. but can only be obtained by reducing allocation to fixed service.

HF fixed service is also used within developed as well as developing countries for point-to-point communications, although this application is declining in rich countries due to the emergence of terrestrial microwave and/or satellite circuits. In emerging nations, the low cost of HF fixed service is still very appealing. But--and an important but--the emerging nations are also interested in developing their international broadcasting capacities.

A study commission headed by Frank Stanton discovered that in 1970-72, both U.S. and U.S.S.R. program hours were down, but the total world figures for international shortwave broadcasts remained essentially unchanged. By 1972, many of the newly independent nations had initiated or were expanding their international broadcasting services.

National pride, cultural integrity, and a strong wish to participate in a "new international information order" are likely to increase the interest of the Third World in finding more frequencies for their international broadcasting even while they seek to use HF for fixed services.

The U.S. will be supporting partial resolution of this dilemma through modification of sharing procedures which take advantage of the fact that international broadcasting's peak frequency use is in the evening hours. Another approach which thus far appears to attract more interest from frequency-saving engineers than from broadcasters is the possible adoption of single sideband (SSB) techniques, which use only half the normal amount of spectrum.

But with existing shortwave receivers scattered across the globe, conversion to SSB is more complex for broadcasting than for other HF services. The HF allotment question could prove to be a delicate diplomatic situation. If the Third World presents a rigid assignment

plan, as they did at the 1977 WARC, it would be difficult for the U.S. to accept without reservations.

The C-Band

The "C-band" frequencies are used by the fixed service satellites of Intelsat, the U.S. domestic carriers, and domestic satellites in several countries including the U.S.S.R., Canada and Indonesia. This band is also used for terrestrial common carrier microwave (radar and auxillary mobile radio). The LDCs would also like to see the allocations in this band expanded because of their need for frequencies below 10 MHz. If the "C-band" is expanded, the U.S. officials expect to see a complex sharing scheme develop between terrestrial and space services using "C-band" frequencies.

A related and perhaps thornier issue is orbital arc allotments for the satellites which operate in this band. The idea of a priori assignment of orbital slots appears attractive to many developing countries, because they fear that the Soviet Union will crowd the Equatorial "parking spaces" over the Indian Ocean, a region of particular interest to India and many other developing nations. Similar concerns have been expressed by Latin American nations about American use of orbital "parking spaces" over the Carribbean.

S-band

In the "S-band," 2.5-2.69 GHz, the U.S. will be urging allocation on a co-equal basis to satellite broadcasting and fixed service (point-to-point: telephony and basic two-way communication). Space use of the band was originally proposed in 1971 by the U.S. delegation (after a hard-fought battle by U.S. educational interests) for community reception broadcasting for educational and national development purposes. This band was used for ATS-6 satellite experiments. Interest in telephony to and from remote areas and in satellite distribution of TV for local rebroadcast makes the fixed service designation equally appropriate.

Remote Sensing

The development of satellites capable of "remote sensing" of minerals and other resources, agricultural conditions and pollution has created problems in which ITU will have a role. The only major system

using remote sensing satellites is the American Landsat program. This service operates under an experimental frequency allocation for ground-to-satellite communications from ITU. Many Third World observers fear that Western governments and multi-national corporations may use this information to increase their relevant strength in international negotiations and markets. Coupled with competing uses for available frequencies, fears of remote sensing could conceivably lead to denial of adequate spectrum for this service at WARC 1979.

An additional problem is that the natural phenomena which remote-sensing satellites record occur in specific "natural" frequencies. These frequencies must be kept "unpolluted" by excess electromagnetic radiation so that clear satellite observation is not obscured.

Conclusion

The very length of the agenda and the complexities of the issues mitigate against many "revolutionary" changes at the 10-week 1979 General World Administrative Radio Conference. The objectives of the U.S. include seeking only such incremental changes as appear "reasonably required" by what can be clearly foreseen for the next twenty years. To go further, it is argued, would violate another U.S. goal, sufficient flexibility to permit future accommodation to the inevitable changes--social, political and economic, as well as technological--which lie ahead.

The United States and other developed nations have the most to gain from preventing major confrontations which could produce dramatic changes in ITU procedures and priorities, because they have the most invested economically in the status quo. But, less developed countries' concerns that there will be no frequencies or geostationary orbits left when and if they develop a need for these limited resources could create a movement to change basic ITU principles. Initial moves in that direction have been noted earlier in the specialized WARC's of the last seven years. On the other hand, the traditional common interest in interference-free communication which has kept previous ITU meeting apolitical could prevail again at the 1979 WARC.

FOOTNOTES

¹Richard E. Butler, "World Administrative Radio Conference for Planning Broadcasting Satellite Service," Journal of Space Law, 5 (Spring and Fall 1977), p., 94.

²Ibid., pp. 95-96.

THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT

The non-aligned movement began largely as an attempt to protect the interests of the new nations within the context of the East-West struggle. Insofar as the cold war has receded, the emphasis of the movement seemed to shift towards definition of common goals and common strategies for development.

Originally, the movement attempted to find a niche somewhere between capitalism and socialism--"a third way." Linked by similar ideas and colonial experiences, the non-aligned countries sought avenues for change. However, ideological diversity has developed within the movement, so that now there are countries which espouse Marxist-Leninism and others which are equally opposed to "imperialism," but cautious of revolutionary solutions. Cuba, for example, openly promotes "proletarian internationalism," while India is more likely to advocate moderate domestic and foreign policies.

In economic terms, the leaders of the non-aligned countries have called for redistribution of wealth through basic changes in the current international economic order, which is viewed as a mechanism for perpetuating injustice. In cultural affairs, the non-aligned have stressed the importance of preserving cultural integrity in Third World nations while they undergo the desired, but wrenching, changes of development. It is along this line, partly, that the non-aligned movement has become involved in communications issues.

Westerners easily lose sight of the continuity and of the growing importance of the non-aligned movement which has been building for over two decades. While the results of non-aligned meetings can be seen as "mere rhetoric," it can also be seen as a growing influence upon world public opinion and as a voice for nearly two-thirds of humanity.

A few basic terms regarding the meetings that are central to the non-aligned movement should be clarified. The most important are called Meetings of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, otherwise known as Summits, which occur every three years. At the summit meetings, resolutions and proposals are considered, and approvals are given for interim activities, such as ministerial conferences (of Foreign Ministers, Information Ministers, etc.). Between the summits,

the Coordinating Bureau (with 25 members)* conducts the business of the movement.

Historical Background

In the early 1950s, five Asian Prime Ministers** met to discuss their desires to remain non-aligned and preserve national sovereignty in the face of increasing international pressure to choose sides in the cold war between the Soviet Union and the U.S. Since many of these States had only recently won their independence, they expressed the need to oppose all forms of imperialism. They also called for greater cooperation among the nations of Asia and Africa.

Subsequent to these preliminary meetings, an Asian-African Conference was held in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955 sponsored by Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia, Burma and Pakistan. Twenty-nine countries attended. Colonialism was condemned and there was a call for increased cooperation in all areas. Many see this conference as the real beginning of the non-aligned movement. However, it is important to point out that it also had roots in the pre-World War II liberation struggles in Africa and Asia which sought national independence as well as to end Western cultural domination and foster self-reliance by promoting indigenous ideologies.

In the meetings of the non-aligned throughout the remainder of the 1950s and the 1960s, anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist sentiments continued to be expressed. Support for self-determination of all oppressed peoples and calls for increased cooperation among non-aligned countries were voiced. Another vital concern of the non-aligned was the possibility that they would be drawn into a superpower nuclear confrontation caused by cold war tensions. Leaders feared their countries would serve as battlegrounds in a East-West struggle while Washington and Moscow remained sanctuaries.

* Afghanistan, Angola, Algeria, Botswana, Cuba, Chad, Guinea, Guyana, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Jamaica, Liberia, Niber, Nigeria, The Palestine Liberation Organization (considered a full member state), Peru, Syria, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Tanzania, Viet Nam, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

**The five Prime Ministers were: Sir John Kotelawala of Sri Lanka (independent since 1948); U Nu of Burma (independent since 1948); Jawaharlal Nehru of India (independent since 1947); Mohammed Ali of Pakistan (independent since 1947); and Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia (independent since 1949).

Over the years, corresponding to the wave of independence in Africa and Asia, the non-aligned movement has grown significantly in membership. In the early 1970s the frequency of meetings increased as part of an effort to formulate a more coherent non-aligned policy. In 1970, the Third Summit meeting of the non-aligned countries was convened for this purpose in Lusaka, Zambia, with fifty-three member states participating.* At Lusaka, non-aligned policy was seen in terms of peace and security, national independence and sovereignty, equality, self-determination, economic development, and strengthening of the United Nations. (The non-aligned have often used the forum of the UN to meet and express their views.) Demands that certain Western States end their assistance to such colonialist and racist regimes as South Africa and Angola, still a Portuguese colony then, were voiced. Another subject which received attention at Lusaka concerned the sovereign rights of nations over their natural resources.

Algiers: Communication Issues Arise

It was at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers, September 5-9, 1973, that communication issues came to the fore. The seventy-five member nations, twenty-four observers and three guests (Austria, Finland and Sweden) reviewed world trends since the Lusaka Summit in a political, economic and cultural context. Under the topic "Preservation and Development," the Conference stated that "it is an established fact that the activities of imperialism are not confined solely to the political and economic fields, but also cover the cultural and social fields," and stressed "the need to reaffirm national cultural identity and eliminate harmful consequence of the colonial era."¹ Articles 13 and 14 of their Action Program for Economic Cooperation specifically refer to communication:

xiii) Developing countries should take concerted action in the field of mass communications on the following lines in order to promote a greater interchange of ideas among themselves:

- a.) Reorganize existing communication channels which are the legacy of the colonial past, and which have hampered free, direct and fast communications among them;

*The first two Conferences of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned were in Belgrade (1961) and Cairo (1964).

- b.) Initiate joint action for the revision of existing multilateral agreements with a view to reviewing press cable rates and facilitating faster and cheaper inter-communication;
- c.) Take urgent steps to expedite the process of collective ownership of communications satellites and evolve a code of conduct for directing their use;
- d.) Promote increased contact between the mass media, universities, libraries, planning and research bodies and other institutions so as to enable developing countries to exchange experience and expertise and share ideas.

xiv. Non-aligned countries should exchange and disseminate information concerning their mutual achievements in all fields through newspapers and periodicals, radio, television and the news media of their respective countries. They should formulate plans for sharing experience in this field, inter alia through reciprocal visits of delegations from information media and through exchange of radio and television programs, films, books, photographs, and through cultural events and art festivals.²

TANJUG's Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool

In response to the Algiers Summit resolutions and after consulting with several national news agencies, TANJUG, the Yugoslav news agency, initiated a Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool on January 20, 1975. The first reports were issued in French, Spanish and English. In the spirit of cooperation, the agencies involved in the first transmission asked all non-aligned nations to join the Pool. At the end of one year, the pool had 26 members and had relayed 3,500 news items. The Pool today has over forty national agencies participating in the mutual exchange. The Pool has received encouragement from the UN, UNESCO, the World Bank, the Associated Press, and United Press International.

In the wake of Algiers and the commencement of the News Agencies Pool, the coordination and implementation structures of the Non-Aligned Movement began to function. In May of 1975, representatives of 14 non-aligned countries met in Belgrade to prepare the agenda for a Non-Aligned Symposium on Information to be held in Tunis in March 1976.

The organization committee (Mexico, Tunisia, Sri Lanka, Cuba and Yugoslavia) for the symposium agreed upon discussion topics and submitted them to the Fifth Ministerial (Foreign Ministers) Conference in Lima, August 25-30, 1975. The agenda for Tunis included discussion of the promotion of information exchange between countries, the role of information organs for the promotion of cultural interchange and the role of infrastructures in reinforcing economic and social cooperation. Resolution VI from the Lima Conference, entitled "Cooperation in the Field of Diffusion of Information and Mass Communication Media," supported the News Agencies Pool and recommended that a meeting of government representatives and press agencies be called to draft a constitution for the Pool. India offered to host the meeting in New Delhi in 1976. The 81 countries at the Lima Conference named Tunisia as coordinating country to encourage future developments, since they would be hosting the symposium. The coordinating countries were also asked to recall the Algiers Program of Action and to ensure continued cooperation, especially in the areas of mass communication and cultural exchange.

The Tunis Symposium

Delegates from 38 member states and 13 observers attended the Tunis Symposium March 26-30, 1976. The final report, entitled "The Emancipation of the Mass Media in Non-Aligned Countries," contained suggestions for a study of the mass media potential for self-reliance within the non-aligned countries, the creation of regional exchange centers for journalists and technologies, and for the future development of an appropriate infrastructure capable of communication production and distribution. The Tunis Symposium critically looked at the immense problems faced by the non-aligned countries, especially at the structural/operational level of communications development.

The issues addressed in the final report to the Conference represent the first attempt to deal with the problem of distribution of Third World-generated news. Whereas much previous discussion had centered on the need for balance in communication flows and the communication rights of the less developed countries, this was the first attempt to deal in practical terms with the critical problem of distribution. During the "Development Decade" of the 1960s, the emphasis had been on the establishment of production facilities and the training of producers. Third World critics feel Western aid-givers often underplayed the problems of news distribution, especially among the less developed nations. On an international scale, the establishment by many Third World nations of national news agencies was an answer to the problem

of production. The Pool was now the complementary answer to the problem of international distribution.

The symposium urged the upcoming summit at Colombo to generate specialized entities for mapping out strategies, for consolidating diverse projects, and for drafting and integrating general regulations.

The New Delhi Conference

Over 60 States and organizations (including the UN) were represented at the New Delhi Ministerial Conference held July 8-13, 1976. The 31 news agencies' managers and 33 information ministers gathered together for the first time to consider in depth, and raise pertinent questions regarding non-aligned communications policy. The group received a progress report from TANJUG on its Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool, a review of the Tunis report, a recommendation for a Coordination Committee, and discussed methods for improving communication facilities for the non-aligned.

(India was designated to head the Coordination Committee for the News Pool and convened the first session immediately after the 6-day New Delhi Conference.) One of the final acts of the Conference was to adopt the New Delhi Declaration which focused attention on the information imbalance and revealed the non-aligned's commitment to change the situation. The Conference resolutions reveal a desire for common approaches to the right to information, the right to communicate and to the functioning of satellite communication. The Conference also decided to set up a committee of experts to study telecommunications facilities and the possibilities for cooperation in this field (such as maximum use of satellite communications and concessional tariff structure for fast flow of information).³

The Colombo Summit

The leaders of 84 participating nations assembled in Colombo, Sri Lanka, a month (August 15-19, 1976) later to consider the recommendations made at New Delhi, as well as recommendations made by ministerial meetings held since the last summit in Algiers in 1973. The heads of state not only endorsed the declarations and decisions made at New Delhi, but approved a constitution for the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool. This gave formal approval to the experiment begun by TANJUG a year-and-a-half before.

The Pool's Constitution said that its aim was to provide objective information with an emphasis on progressive social, economic, political and cultural development. The pool was not to be an international news agency, nor was any participant to have a dominant role. Each country was to bear the costs of its participation. In operation, the participating news agencies were to, if they chose, send daily dispatches to one or more of the agencies which has volunteered (such as TANJUG) to be regional redistribution centers. Additionally, provisions were made for coordination in the exchange of features, photographs, specialized economic and cultural information, as well as exchanges of journalists and technical personnel.⁴ The Summit also approved the establishment of a Coordinating Committee of the Press Agencies Pool of Non-Aligned Countries and an Inter-Governmental Coordination Council for the Coordination of Information in the Non-Aligned Countries.

The Colombo Summit also produced three major documents: the Action Program for Economic Cooperation, the Political Declaration and the Economic Declaration. The Political Declaration states that "a new international order in the fields of information and mass communication is as vital as a new international economic order," and noted with concern "the vast and evergrowing gap between communication capacities in non-aligned countries and the advanced countries." The Declaration also stated that "the emancipation and development of national media is an integral part of the overall struggle for political, economic and social independence for a large majority of the peoples of the world who should not be denied the right to inform and be informed objectively and correctly."⁶

Tunisia was also given a mandate by the Summit to take the "international information order" question to the upcoming UNESCO General Conference in Nairobi. The so-called compromise "Tunisian Resolution" at Nairobi grew out of this mandate. The resolution at Nairobi expressed support for the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool and directed UNESCO to aid it.

UNESCO Involvement

But even before that resolution, the non-aligned movement was apparently having an impact on UNESCO, especially. UNESCO, which traditionally supported the concept of "free flow of information" changed its terminology to "free and balanced flow of information." Prior to the Colombo Summit, UNESCO had sponsored a nine-day conference in Costa Rica to discuss Latin American communication policies. The final suggestions of that conference closely resembled those of the

non-aligned movement. In the fall of 1976, Mr. Amadou M'Bow, UNESCO Director-General, accused the international news agencies of seeking to emphasize the negative side of news from developing nations and declared "One of the greatest forms of inequality in the contemporary world is that involving information."⁷

It was not until January 1977 that UNESCO participated for the first time as an observer at the first meeting of the Pool Coordination Committee in Cairo. The meeting noted that since its inception in 1975, the Pool had grown to more than 40 news agencies from Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Europe. The countries who attended the 1977 Cairo meeting were: Egypt, Ghana, Maurice Isles, Senegal, Tunisia, Zaire, Cuba, Mexico, Peru, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Vietnam, Yugoslavia. It was constantly stressed that the Pool of Non-Aligned Countries Press Agencies is not an organization set up to declare an all-directional hostility, but a working organization which can unite the efforts, until now dispersed, in the field of communication.⁸

Broadcasting Organizations Meet

With momentum building, the Intergovernmental Coordinating Council in the Field of Information asked Yugoslavia to host the First Conference of Radio and Television Organizations of Non-Aligned Countries. It was widely acknowledged that changes in any system of information would generate changes in international relations as a whole.⁹ The Conference, held in Sarajevo (Yugoslavia) on October 27-30, 1977, encouraged cooperation and coordination among the non-aligned broadcasters to facilitate the dissemination of their beliefs. The conference emphasized "a joint and coordinated approach by the non-aligned countries in relevant international forums, conferences, and organizations on matters of common interest to them, particularly in the field of telecommunications, technical development, standardization, satellite broadcasting and other areas."¹⁰ Equal access to and equitable distribution of technology were stressed as prerequisites for a balanced flow of information. Participants in the conference were greeted by Marcel Martin, Director of the UN Information Department, Sound and Visual Broadcasting Service Office.¹¹

Seeing the need for a committee for cooperation in the field of broadcasting, the Conference designated the following countries as committee members: Jordan, Iraq, India, Afghanistan, North Korea, Malaysia, Tunisia, Algeria, Guinea, Togo, Zaire, Nigeria, Tanzania, Kenya, Zambia, Cuba, Peru, Panama, and Yugoslavia.

Recent Meetings

In April of 1978, the Coordination Committee of the News Agencies Pool met again in Jakarta. According to Chairman D.R. Mankekar, the best reply to the skeptics would be the creation of a professional news service adhering to the principles of truth, objectivity and accuracy. This would lend legitimacy and credibility in the light of frequent cynical observations.

The meeting also discussed setting up distribution centers (four in Asia; nine in Africa; three in Latin America; one in Europe), resolving communication bottlenecks (cable rates and slow transmission), organizing training programs for professional and technical personnel (proposals for cooperation with UNESCO), redefining "news" so as to conform to the new needs of developing countries and the "New International Information Order." UNESCO plans to assist non-aligned news agencies, including a training program were announced at the conference.

The Intergovernmental Council for the Coordination of Information also met in April in Havana (Cuba). The Council's mission is to organize and disseminate non-aligned positions. One of the first topics discussed was the exchange of opinions concerning information between the non-aligned nations and other countries. The discussion focused on the imbalance of information and stressed the importance of non-aligned unity to ameliorate the current situation.

Another important discussion centered around the cooperation of the Intergovernmental Council with UNESCO and other international organizations. Hamdy Kandil, Chief of the Division of Free Flow and Communication Policies at UNESCO, reported on the measures his organization will adopt to cooperate with non-aligned countries and other nations in establishing a new international order in the field of information.

An important meeting of foreign ministers representing 85 non-aligned countries has just begun in Belgrade. According to the draft agenda the meeting will discuss reports of all previous meetings for recommendation to the next Summit Meeting in Havana in 1979.

Conclusions

It may be too early to render an adequate judgement on the News Agencies Pool, and very little research has been done. However, some shortcomings can be noted. The financial burdens rest mainly on those nations designated as distribution centers (India, Yugoslavia, etc.). As a pool, rather than as a news agency, it has no correspondents to send on special assignments or to station in the major power centers of the world. Observers feel the organization was created as a pool rather than an independent news agency for fear that the Indians and Yugoslavs, in particular, would dominate such an organization. Nevertheless, the exchange of official information which is taking place within the Pool has some value for the nations involved but it is not the same as really altering the flow of international news, at least not yet. According to an April 1977 study by Edward T. Pinch, actual participation was lower than membership; 60 percent of the Pool's content, for the time period studied, was contributed by just seven countries (Egypt and Yugoslavia being the two largest contributors). Nearly half of the items (47 percent) were concerned with economic development, while less than 10 percent dealt exclusively with the non-aligned movement. The attention given to the Middle East situation revealed, Pinch said, that "Pool members see the medium to be useful for voicing grievances and stating positions on critical confrontation issues."¹¹

The impact of the non-aligned movement as a whole to date has been dismissed by many Americans as more rhetoric than action. It is difficult to ascertain how much the non-aligned movement has affected the actions of individual governments in dealing with Western institutions or in participating in the UN system or other more formal international fora. But, as a partial result of pressure from the non-aligned countries, UNESCO promotes and supports the design of national communication policies and has initiated investigations on the global information flow and the role of transnational corporations in international communications. The atmosphere and the programs of the UN system have been affected. Basic questions about the role of the Western countries in the Third World have been raised and will continue to be sources of controversy. The non-aligned movement has become an institutionalized feature of the international landscape, with particular interest in international communications.

FOOTNOTES

¹Tran Van Dinh, "Non-Alignment and Cultural Imperialism," The Black Scholar, December 1976, p. 42.

²Proceedings of the IVth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Articles XIII and XIV of the "Action Program for Economic Cooperation," as it appeared in From Bandung to Colombo, A.W. Singham and Tran Van Dinh, eds. (New York: Third Press Review Book, 1976), pp. 163-164.

³Van Dinh, "Non-Alignment," p. 42.

⁴United States, Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), Daily Reports - South Asia, 14 July 1976, pp. S2-S3.

⁵"Colombo, Action for Non-Aligned News," Intermedia, Vol. 4, No. 5, October 1976, p. 11.

⁶Van Dinh, "Non-Alignment," p. 45.

⁷Tunisia, Secretariat of State for Information, The New World Order for Information (Tunis: Impremerie de la SAGEP, 1977), p. 40.

⁸Mirko Popovic, "Cooperation Among Non-Aligned Countries in Radio Broadcasting," Review of International Affairs, 28:663, 20 November 1977, p. 2.

⁹"The Declaration of the First Conference of Broadcasting Organizations of the Non-Aligned Countries Adopted by the First Committee and Submitted to the Conference," Review of International Affairs, 28:663, 20 November 1977, p. 17.

¹⁰United States, Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), Daily Reports - Yugoslavia, 31 October 1977, p. 14.

¹¹Edward T. Pinch, "The Third World and the Fourth Estate, A Look at the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool," case study prepared for Department of State Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy, April 1977, p. 12.

NEWS FLOW

Of all the issues addressed in the various fora discussed above, that of news flow has probably received the greatest public attention in the United States. Western newsmen have been voicing increasing anxiety in print and to governmental leaders for some time over what would appear to be a trend in Third World nations towards more restrictions, if not the outright barring, of Western foreign correspondents. Cases of correspondents being jailed or harassed seem to come more frequently with Third World datelines. At the same time, the trend toward more government control of the domestic media in the Third World seems to be continuing, despite the efforts and protestations of such groups as the International Press Institute, the Inter-American Press Association, Freedom House and the World Press Freedom Committee to propound the merits of a free press.

It is tempting, and in some cases probably correct, to attribute both trends to another one--the increasing number of authoritarian governments throughout the Third World who understandably want neither a free press at home nor a free flow of accurate but "bad" news out of the country.

But the general disaffection many in the Third World are expressing toward the Western media should not be written off simply as the carpings of military dictators who have been offended by the honest reporting of Western journalists. The sentiment is far deeper and more complicated. Complaints from the Third World about the international flow of news cover a broad range--from the content of that news to the structure of the international news dissemination itself.

What is News?

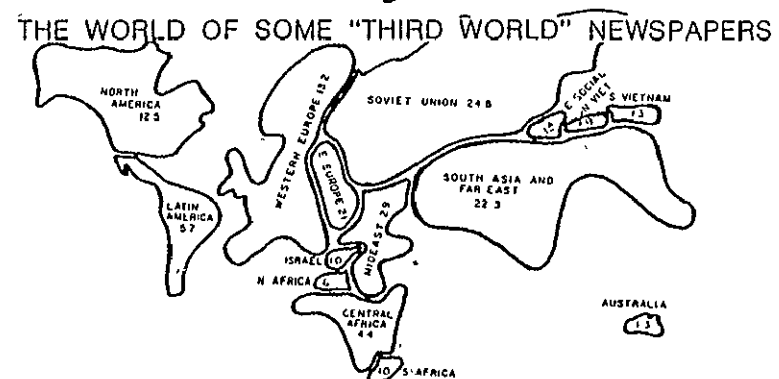
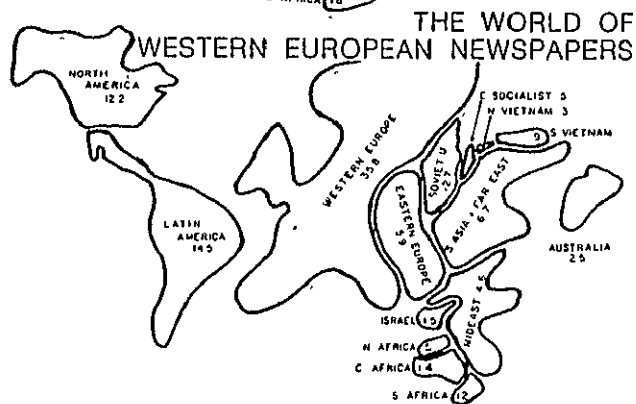
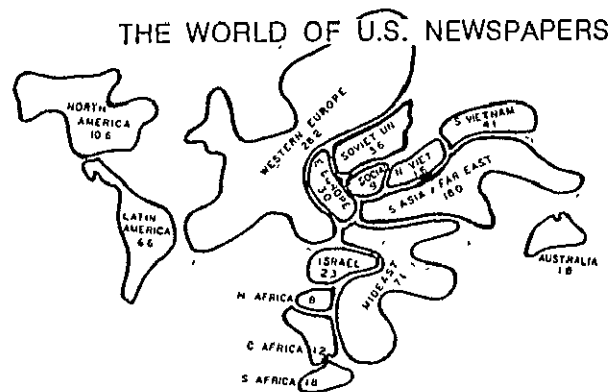
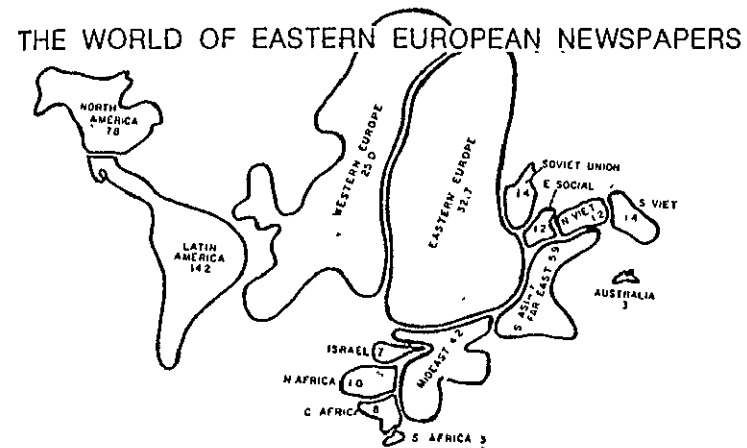
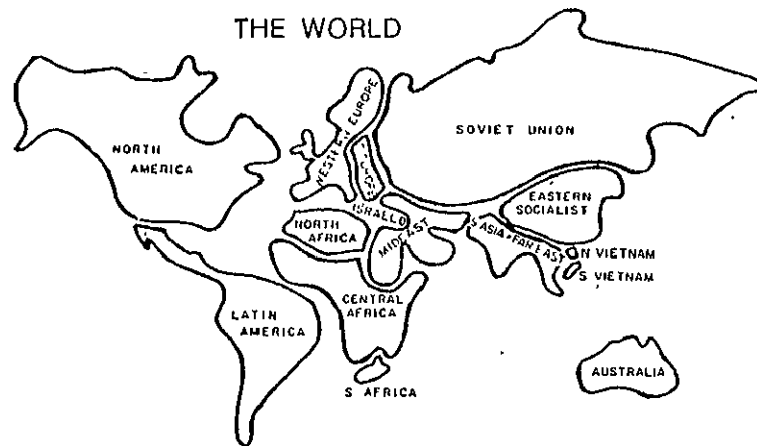
Stepping back from the specific complaints, one senses that the underlying dispute may actually be over the definition of news. Americans believe that their concept of news, stressing as it does "objectivity," is acultural. But theorists are today questioning whether objectivity is even possible, since the process of journalism involves selection and choice of what is news. Gerald Long, Managing Director of Reuters, has written:

It is pointless to try to separate, in any society, what are called its news values and its general values, national or international. The values which are called news values will have been formed by the various process in the society that form values. It is the same process that moulds all values.¹

Thus, different cultures and societies can be expected to have different news values. Yet, as Tunisia's Secretary of State for Information Mustapha Masmoudi charged in a recent statement, the present choice of international news reflects ". . . the moral, cultural or political values of certain States, disregarding the values and preoccupations of the other nations."² Western cultural definitions of news stress what is considered the important, aberrational and the unusual. The Third World nations are not the first to complain that these priorities result in too much "bad" news.

With the four Western wire services--all products of similar cultures--the major purveyors of world news, it is not surprising that nations in the post-colonial era are insisting that they have more control over news internally and have the means to express their views internationally. Nor is it unexpected that, frustrated because they feel their views are not being heard through the Western news agencies, some nations harass and bar Western correspondents. This is not to overlook or gloss over instances of authoritarian governments who have their own, political reasons for barring Western correspondents. Contributing to the Third World's wariness of Western correspondents, also, are allegations that the Central Intelligence Agency has used American and foreign journalists. A House Committee headed by Representative Otis Pike found that 29 per cent--billions of dollars over the years--of the CIA's covert budget went for overseas media and propaganda efforts. The CIA poured millions of dollars alone into El Mercurio; Chile's most well-known newspaper and an ardent opponent of President Salvador Allende during his administration.³

It would be too much to expect the existing news agencies to attempt, if it were even practical, to reflect the variety of cultural news values in the world. Besides, they must still produce for their primary subscribers and members who are in the West. New cheaper technology, fairer cable transmission rates, and such efforts as the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool may allow world news flows to be more representative of the plurality of cultures. It is in this spirit that many in the Third World have for some time been calling for "free and balanced flow" of international news. Balance is translated, roughly, by its supporters to mean "positive" and "negative" news on



From George Gerbner and George Marvany, "The Many Worlds of the World's Press," *Journal of Communication*, Winter 1977, (27:1), pp. 58-59, showing proportional coverage of the rest of the world by newspapers from the various regions. Courtesy of the *Journal of Communication*.

a variety of topics, both "hard" and "soft," from a variety of sources. Supporters say balanced flow would benefit everyone, including the peoples of the developed nations, by providing them with new sources of information and new perspectives. However, "free flow" and "balanced flow" may be mutually exclusive terms, since the latter implies intervention in the choice of news while the former the traditional laissez faire approach supported by the West.⁴

The concept of differing concepts for news should be kept in mind during the following review of some of the specific complaints often issued by the Third World. It may help put into perspective the underlying reasons for some of these complaints.

Dependence

Third World critics are unhappy about the world's dependence for news on the four Western wire services (Agence France Press, the Associated Press, Reuters and United Press International). The result, say critics, has meant one-way flow of news from the North and West to the South, not "free flow." While the heads of all four news agencies would claim significant differences among their services, to representatives of non-western cultures and different ideologies, the four Western services often seem very much alike, with similar newsgathering techniques, criteria for news and coverage emphasis. The Western wire services tell the rest of the world not only what is happening in the West but what is happening in the communist countries and throughout the Third World. News depends very much on selection and style of writing and what is not written is often as important as what is. Yet only one set of criteria--based primarily on Western needs and demands for certain types of information--is employed.

Third World spokesmen are disturbed, too, because the West relies on them for news of the Third World. Westerners never get a chance to hear about Third World problems from other, especially Third World sources. The decisions made by Western business and government leaders about foreign aid, trade, and on military and foreign policy issues, based on news from the Western news agencies, can have great impact on the weak nations of the developing world. Since public opinion can play such an important part in these decisions, the dependence of the public on the news agencies for information about the Third World is also worrisome.

In many Third World countries, the only way to find out what is happening in the neighboring country is to consult the Western wire

services, which in writing the story may be mainly concerned about the news event's effect on Western interests. A recent study of 14 Asian newspapers found that 76 per cent of their news about other Third World nations, on the average came from the four news agencies even though their interest was primarily on nearby Asian countries.⁵ Mustapha Masmoudi, Tunisia's Secretary of State for Information, and a frequent spokesman for the Non-Aligned Movement, in a recent presentation to the UNESCO International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, said: "They (the great mass communications media) cover events only according to the needs of their home countries."⁶ Masmoudi continued:

Daily events in the developing countries are reported to the world through the channels of the transnational media; these media also 'tell' the developing countries what is happening in foreign countries, through the same channels. By only informing the developing countries about news items which they have filtered, cut down and distorted, the transnational information systems impose their own way of seeing the world on the developing countries. As a result, communities that are sometimes geographically close to each other only know each other through these transnational information systems.⁷

From a psychological standpoint, it is also irritating that the primary news and information link among the developing nations is in the hands of Westerners,⁸ representing in the case of Reuters and AFP, nations which were so recently colonial overlords. It is in this light that in establishing the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool so many of the statements issued stressed that Africans would now be speaking for Africans and Asians for Asians, though the objectivity of the pool's output may be questioned.

Ironically, there is a historic parallel between the current preeminence of the Western news agencies and the structures of international news dissemination 60 years ago. Reuters, through the European news cartel it had formed with the French Havas and German Wolff agencies, controlled all foreign news sent into the U.S. and all American news to the world. Kent Cooper, Executive Manager of the AP and the man who crusaded for the breakup of the cartel, described the situation:

So Reuters decided what news was to be sent from America. It told the world about Indians on the war path in the West, lynchings in the South and bizarre crimes in the North. The charge for decades was that nothing creditable to America ever was sent. American businessmen criticized The Associated Press for permitting Reuters to belittle America abroad.⁹

Later he adds:

Their (Havas' and Reuters') own countries were always glorified. This was done by reporting great advances at home in English and French civilizations, the benefits of which would, of course, be bestowed on the world. Figuratively speaking, in the United States, according to Reuters and Havas, it wasn't safe to travel on account of the Indians.¹⁰

This parallel has not been missed by the Third World. D.R. Mankekar, Chairman of the Coordinating Committee of the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool, in Jakarta in April, recalled Cooper's complaints and observed, "You have only to substitute the terms 'USA' with the words 'developing countries' and (the complaints) would appear to be speaking most effectively for the developing countries in the present era."¹¹

The AP eventually seceded from the cartel, joining the never-included United Press, and precipitating the breakup of the cartel in the 1930s. Today's system of four competing, overlapping international news services stems directly from the Associated Press' unhappiness with its confinement and with the content of news about the United States being distributed throughout the world.

As was noted earlier, Third World spokesmen often link the world information order with the international economic order, which they feel works to their detriment. Cooper, interestingly, makes a similar link:

With Julius Reuter at the head of its world news dissemination, England strove for world trade. It is not difficult to see that, holding control of world news communications and with the genius of Reuter, it had the means for success.¹²

It should be noted, in analyzing critiques of the structure of international news, that most Third World media have another option open to them for information news at little or no cost--Tass, the Soviet

news agency. But, Tass, with its ideologically prescribed method of interpreting what is news, is often not used. It should be noted, also, that no cartel arrangements exist today and the major wire services seem willing to accept alternate services such as the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool, as long as their access to news events is not denied.

Distortion and Imbalance

Moving from the structure to the content of the news flowing through the four Western wire services, the critics sound a note distinctly reminiscent of the complaints made by American news executives at the turn of the century. Some critics in the Third World charge that the news about the Third World in Western wire service reports is distorted and dwells only on "bad" news--catastrophe, corruption, civil disorder and failure.¹³ The effect is heightened, critics say, because so little of the news on the international news wires is about Third World nations, thus creating a chaotic, fragmented picture. Too much of the reporting from the Third World, critics add, is simplistic, stressing "pro-Soviet" and "anti-Western" labels.¹⁴ Narinder K. Aggarwala, an Indian journalist serving with the United Nations Development Programme summarized the criticisms this way:

The Third World's complaint against the international news media is two-fold. First, that only a quarter of the news that goes on the wires of the four major Western news agencies emanates from, or deals with, the developing countries, although they constitute nearly two-thirds of humanity. Second, most of the Third World news is negative and deals with such subjects as shortages, famines, natural disasters and political and military intrigues. The news disseminated by the four transnational news agencies is meant primarily for the users in the developed countries and has a very strong Northern orientation.¹⁵

A recent example of a "Northern Orientation" to a Third World story was much of the coverage of the recent invasion of Zaire. Reports stressed the massacre of over one hundred white Europeans, but usually did not mention until much later in the story, if at all, that three times as many black civilians were murdered just as brutally.

Critics feel the fragmented picture of the Third World presented leaves out important information about the overall plight of the developing world and the overwhelming odds they must face to achieve

development, leading to widespread apathy and ignorance in the West.¹⁶ The emphasis on negative news, some Third World spokesmen feel, is a deliberate attempt to discredit the governments of the new nations.¹⁷

This same picture is, in turn, conveyed back to the Third World by the Western news agencies, contributing to and reinforcing the Third World's negative self-image. Part of the problem critics feel, is that decisions on what to report from the Third World are made by culture-bound Western correspondents and wire editors who apply Western values to situations where they may be inappropriate. These foreign correspondents are ill-trained in languages and cross-cultural understanding, critics allege.¹⁸ Making this same point, Frederick T.C. Yu, Associate Dean of the Columbia School of Journalism, asks Americans how effectively an Asian correspondent could cover Washington if he did not know English.¹⁹ Roger Tatarian, former UPI Vice-President, observed that he once visited a reception in Tokyo in which it was quite apparent that none of the American correspondents knew Japanese, but all the Soviet correspondents did. The difficulty and expense, though, of training a journalist in the several non-Western languages which might be necessary during the course of his career or even for one assignment could be formidable. However, the trend in recent years has been to hire and train more qualified correspondents for overseas assignments. The AP says, for instance, that many of its correspondents possess advanced degrees in international relations or similar subjects, receive special language training, and may train for several years on the New York headquarter's World Desk.²⁰

Compounding this problem of quality is the decline in the number of American foreign correspondents stationed overseas from 569 in 1969 to just 429 in 1975, a drop of 23 per cent. Because of the high cost of keeping a correspondent overseas, news services now often send a reporter from the United States to write a particular story. At the same time, overseas correspondents are requested to cover larger and larger geographic areas, encompassing many nations, so that it is virtually impossible for them to become familiar with any one nation, culture, or language. But while the number of Americans actually stationed overseas is declining, the proportion of local journalists on wire services' payrolls is increasing. Out of 800 AP employees overseas, for instance, 700 are not American,²¹ but Westerners probably still make the key decisions on news coverage, either as bureau chiefs or as desk editors in news agencies' headquarters. One study of Latin American UPI bureaus, however, found that the overwhelming majority of them were headed by non-Americans.²² But, this may have been an exceptional case and they have certainly been schooled in the Western news philosophy.

Irrelevance

Hand-in-hand with complaints about news coverage of the Third World are criticisms of the news sent to developing countries. Critics say that too much of the news sent by the wire services to Third World clients is of little interest to them. Much of it, they say, is concerned with events and happenings in the developed world,²³ particularly American politics. (Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere once commented that the Third World should be allowed to vote in the American presidential elections not only because the U.S. is so important to the future of the Third World, but also because the Third World is so inundated by information about the candidates that it has as much information as the American voters.) What news they receive about other Third World nations is, as noted above, more often than not, about catastrophe and violence. Of "soft news" items--such as successful development projects elsewhere or even unsuccessful ones which failed for specific reasons--they say they find none. Most of the news on the wires, critics say, is datelined Paris, Washington, or London and what news does come from other parts of the world is filtered through those same cities (or in the cases of UPI and AP through New York).²⁴

Wire service spokesmen contend that "soft stories," particularly on development subjects, (while demanded by Third World governments and their development planners) are seldom selected by indigenous newspapers for publication. The case of a New York Times correspondent who a few years ago went to Tanzania to write a story about that nation's special approach to development is illustrative of another aspect--the reporter was prevented from leaving the capital city, told he could not have access to any government officials and was only given collection of speeches made by President Nyerere. The most recent speech was three years old.²⁵ The study cited earlier of the wire services' Asian files and 14 newspapers compared the types of stories covered by the news agencies and the types of stories printed in the newspapers. They found a remarkably high correlation between the contents of both. As the researchers noted, this could be interpreted to mean either that the wires are largely meeting the demands of their subscribers, at least these Asian newspapers, or else the newspapers have no choice but to use what was at hand. The same study found that altogether only about 15 per cent of the total coverage of the Third World was devoted to military violence, crime, accident and disaster--less than half what was given to foreign relations. "Economic" news coverage also received 15 per cent of the total,²⁶ but without qualitative analysis it is difficult to determine whether much or any of this "economic" news was about development, or other "relevant" topics to the Third

World rather than banking and big business. Overall, the study calls into question some of the assumptions made about the types of news covered by the news agencies. But more research, especially an analysis of the content and subject of that news is undoubtedly necessary before any criticisms can be accepted or rejected.

Development Journalism

Part of the reason for the charge of irrelevance can be found in the concept of development journalism. Reuters' Long, in discussing news values and the role of news in different societies, observes:

One of the problems about talking of news values is that no one has any idea what is meant by the term 'information needs'. . . Reuters, supplies information to a lot of people who know exactly what they need because they're going to use that information to trade and make money."

In observing the different roles the media may play, he adds, "The idea in other countries, that the media do have a role to play in development seems equally legitimate."²⁷

About ten years ago the Press Foundation of Asia formulated a theory for news called development journalism, in which news was seen as capable of playing an important role in the drive for development. The theory and practice of development journalism was originally created by free press advocates who realized that they were no longer in tune with their readers.²⁸ Development journalism, as practiced in democratic nations such as India, need not mean government control or government cooptation.²⁹ Golding described the origins and elements in development journalism in this way:

First, by stressing the generally educative function of news either about specific pieces of information or by arousal of general awareness of events and their implications. Second, by producing stories which displayed particular social needs or problems it was hoped that government would be provoked to action. Third, by giving prominence to local self-help projects news could encourage emulation of such activities in other communities. Finally, the news could tackle specific problems, such as elite corruption, often with prudent obliqueness.³⁰

Unfortunately, development journalism evolved while the trend towards more authoritarian governments in the Third World was becoming more pronounced. Development journalism in many places has been translated into government control.³¹ And, it has become part of what has been called "development communication," in which the media are applied to development tasks rather than to reporting on them. (Ironically, many development planners now lament the lack of effective feedback a free press could give.)³²

Just as development planners and managers throughout the Third World marshalled the media along with all other national resources in the drive for development, so they turned to the Western wire services for information valuable to them in achieving their goal. They say that they found little on the Western wires of use to them and some that was actually detrimental.

For the more socialistic of the Third World leaders, the reasons for this lack of emphasis on development are clear: the Western wire services are basically commercial operations and the commercial market is, by and large, in the West.³³ (AP, for instance, gets less than one per cent of its revenues from the Third World.) This is doubly irritating to Third World leaders who see news as a social good that could help them in development, but which is left to the vagaries of the open market, a system for which they have little cultural or ideological sympathy.

Yet, it has been pointed out that it would be incorrect to equate the wire services with multinational corporations like IBM or Shell who can withdraw from any area if the profit margin disappears. News agencies follow the news.³⁴

Media-Government Relations

Effecting the relations between the wire services and Third World governments is the relationship between those governments and their own media. As was pointed out in the Context chapter, there may be no alternative to government-financed and run media. In nations with established media, the critical press is seen as a luxury of the developed nations which cannot be afforded by developing countries. Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew espoused this view in 1971 in a speech before the International Press Institute in Helsinki. After reviewing divisive ethnic differences and the lack of education among his people, Lee stated: "In such a situation, freedom of the press, freedom of the news media, must be subordinated to the overriding needs of the integrity of Singapore, and the primary purpose of an elected government (development)."³⁵

James Kangwana, director of broadcasting for the Voice of Kenya, put it this way: "When it comes to the question of responsibility, we look to the flow of news and information to create a society and to maintain its life. The government is not simply a body of people who have been elected to power but the very embodiment, the visible embodiment, of the society." He admits that it is sometimes necessary to challenge the government.³⁶ But, the relationship between media and government is clearly different, and less equal, than in the democratic West.

However, some journalists in the Third World are less likely to concede freedom of the press. At an International Press Institute convention earlier this year in Australia, Eugenio Lopez, an exiled Filipino editor, criticized the condescending attitude of some Western scholars who are willing to write off freedom and the free press in the Third World because they are allegedly "alien" values.³⁷

The Future

The Third World has already acted upon some of its complaints on the international flow of news by creating national news agencies, regional press associations and the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool. In addition, Roger Tatarian has suggested the formation of a pool of able correspondents from both the First and Third World who would specialize in development reporting--to fill that need in international news. Funding and personnel would come from the participating news organizations, including the four major Western news agencies.³⁸

Narinder Aggarwala, of the UN Development Programme, has proposed an even more ambitious organization which he has dubbed the Third World News Agency. This Agency would be composed of regional and national news organizations that already exist in some areas or could be created. It would also place correspondents in all the major news centers of the world. The effect would be the establishment of a news agency with scope comparable to the four major Western wire services. Aggarwala sees the need for such a professional, heterogeneous organization because the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool:

. . . falls far short of the desired objective. In its present form, the agreement, for all practical purposes, provides for no more than a mechanism for exchanging official information or news handouts. Its usefulness, other than as a first step measure, is questionable since participating governments are unlikely to force their media to publish news, received through the Pool, whose

credibility they themselves doubt or whose contents collide with their or their allies' policies.³⁹

One or both of these proposals, or one similar to them could conceivably take root in the future. Funding will be the overriding problem and one which may not be solvable without Western aid.

Other possible future demands from the Third World are contained in Masmoudi's recent, wide-ranging statement to the MacBride Commission. He states "the monopolies of the big press agencies must be reduced by instituting international agreements that aim at equal and fair utilization of all communication media. . . ." ⁴⁰ He also calls for "the regulation of the right to information by preventing abusive uses of the right of access to information" and the "definition of appropriate criteria to govern truly objective news selection." In cases where persons or nations feel they have been misrepresented and wronged by international news reports, the Tunisian Secretary of State for Information says they should have the right to have such false information corrected and the author called into account for this "violation in accordance with appropriate procedures." To oversee the policing of such matters, Masmoudi recommends the creation of an international tripartite body composed of government, professional and neutral representatives.⁴¹

Such suggestions no doubt chill Western supporters of the free press, and one must question the practicality of most of them. Nevertheless, they represent the sentiments of at least some of the Third World nations. Aggarawala cautions that "extreme proposals for media control, such as those calling for the 'imprisonment of foreign correspondents who insult or misrepresent host countries' or 'licensing of journalists' are merely a reflection of the tremendous frustration which Third World leaders feel about domestic as well as foreign media." He says few "developing countries will agree with the statement attributed to an African diplomat in Nairobi that 'we do not want Western journalists in our countries. They should take their news from us.'" ⁴²

The current trend, however, seems to be toward increasing control of foreign correspondents in some parts of the Third World. This trend could be reversed if the Third World begins to feel it has more access to and voice in the flow of international news. Increasing restrictions on American correspondents could have serious implications for American decision-makers who rely on the news agencies for information on the Third World.⁴³ The electorate must also be kept informed, and there must be some check on information from the intelligence community.

It is in the larger U.S. interest, too, that pluralism and diversity be encouraged in the international flow of news and information. With greater democracy in the international marketplace, greater democracy may eventually return to the media in those nations which currently circumscribe their actions through "emergency" measures.

FOOTNOTES

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²Mustapha Masmoudi, "The New World Information Order," document presented to the UNESCO International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, Paris, 10-12 July 1978, p. 6.

³John Marks, "Media in the Third World," The Washington Post, 27 August 1974, p. A-25.

⁴Al Hester, "'Fighting Words' in International Communication: 'Freedom' and 'Balance,'" paper presented at the Flow of Communication Workshop, 30 April - 6 May 1978, East-West Communication Institute, Honolulu, Hawaii, pp. 2-3.

⁵Wilbur Schramm, et al., "International News Wires and Third World News in Asia," paper commissioned by the Edward R. Murrow Center of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, for the Conference on "The International News Media and the Developing World," 2-5 April 1978, Cairo.

⁶Masmoudi, p. 7.

⁷Ibid., p. 5.

⁸Roger Tatarian, "The Multinational News Pool," paper commissioned by the Edward R. Murrow Center of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, for the Conference on "The International News Media and the Developing World," 2-5 April 1978, Cairo, p. 1.

⁹Kent Cooper, Barriers Down (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1942), p. 12.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 43.

¹¹United States, Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS), Daily Reports--Indonesia, p. N-2, 5 April 1978, from Agence France Press, "Non-Aligned Press Agency Meeting Opens in Jakarta," 3 April 1978.

¹²Cooper, p. 12.

¹³Edward T. Pinch, "The Third World and the Fourth Estate, A Look at the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool," Case study prepared for the Department of State's Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy, April 1977, p. 3.

¹⁴Tatarian, "The Multinational," p. 3.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁶Paul Hartmann, "Cultural Identity and Media Dependency," WACC Journal, Vol. XXV, 1:1978, p. 2.

¹⁷Roger Tatarian, "News Flow in the Third World: Some Problems and Proposals," paper presented at the Conference on "The Third World and Press Freedom," 12-13 May, 1977, New York: The Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy, p. 15.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁹Al Hester, "North American and Western European Perspectives on Free and Balanced Flow of News and Information," mimeograph, University of Georgia, February 1978, p. 21.

²⁰William H. Read, America's Mass Media Merchants (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 107.

²¹Barry Rubin (1977), International News and the American Media, The Washington Papers, Vol. V, No. 49, Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publications, p. 23 and Read, p. 107.

²²Tatarian, "News Flow," pp. 20-21.

²³Hartmann, p. 3.

²⁴Pinch, p. 3.

²⁵Deidre Carmody, "Press Worried by Third World's Move to Restrict The Flow of News," The New York Times, 19 July 1976, p. 7.

²⁶Schramm.

²⁷Long.

²⁸John A Lent, "Development Communication: Watch Dog or Lap Dog?" Development Communication Report, No. 19, July 1977, pp. 1-2.

²⁹B. George Verghese, "Development Journalism: An Experiment in Helping the Poorest of the Poor," The Futurist, February 1978, pp. 47-51.

³⁰Shelton A. Gunaratne, "Media Subservience and Developmental Journalism, The Myth of the Link," mimeograph, Capricornia Institute of Advanced Education, Rockhampton, Queensland, Australia, March 1978, p. 8.

³¹Lent, p. 2.

³²Amathabha Chowdhury, "Development Reporting: 'It Gives us the Chance to Manoeuvre with Honour,'" IPI Report, 27:4, April/May 1978, pp. 8-10.

³³Al Hester, "Some Factors in 'Imbalance of News,'" paper prepared for the News Flow Workshop at the East-West Communication Institute, East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, 30 April - 6 May, 1978, p. 2.

³⁴Tatarian, "News Flow," pp. 28-29.

³⁵Ibid., p. 16.

³⁶James Kangwana, "Freedom of the Press and Other Freedoms," Issues in Communications, 1:1977, p. 11.

³⁷Eugenio Lopez, "Lopez Declares Press is in War for Liberty," IPI Report, 27:4, April/May 1978, pp. 12-13.

³⁸Tatarian, "The Multinational," pp. 12-18.

³⁹Narinder Aggarwala, "Third World News Agency," paper commissioned by the Edward R. Murrow Center of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, for its Conference on "The Third World and Press Freedom," 11-13 May 1977, New York City, p. 11.

⁴⁰Masmoudi, p. 17.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 22-25.

⁴²Aggarwala, pp. 8-9.

⁴³George Kroloff and Scott Cohen, "The New World Information Order," report prepared for the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, November 1977, p. 32.

MASS CULTURE

The Flow of Cultural Communication

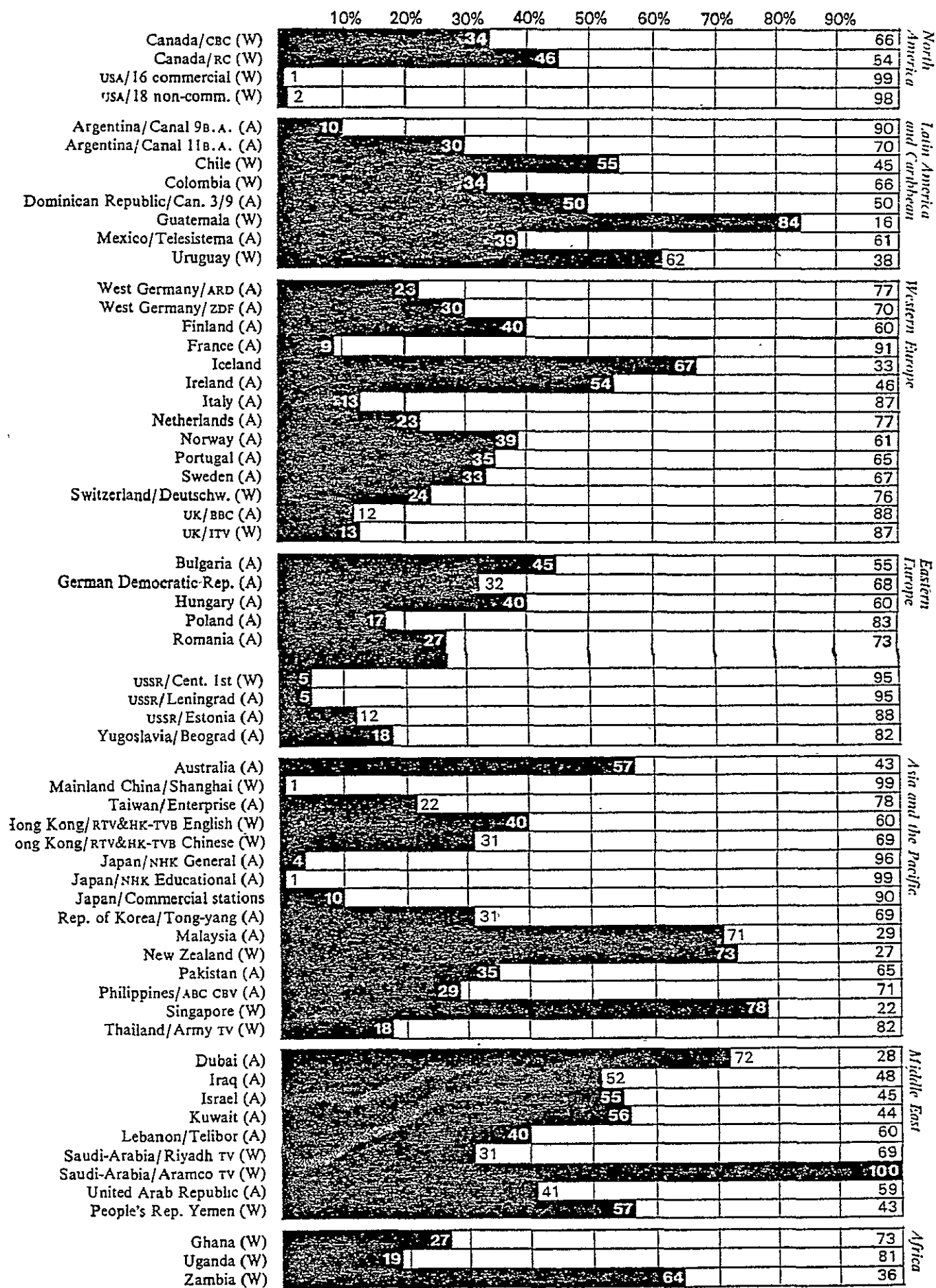
Although news flow questions may have commanded more attention in the West, international flows of books, magazines, films, television programming, and other cultural materials have been controversial also. Foreign cultural materials, some observers say, probably have a greater impact upon the average person in the Third World than does foreign news. The "cultural imperialism" issue already occupies more of the center stage in the international debates on the world information order than the West may realize.

In the first development decade, the 1960s, creation of infrastructure for cultural communication (cinemas, television, and radio stations) was accorded importance equal to that of newspapers. Indeed, as the limitations upon the expansion of the print media were recognized (because of illiteracy, distribution problems), development of news media increasingly meant development of broadcast media--whose prime emphasis in most societies is music, entertainment and culture.

The importation of hardware (movie projectors, television and radio transmitters) called not only for training of technicians to operate the hardware, but also for a steady diet of software (movies, radio and television programming).¹ Almost never was there sufficient expertise or money to produce domestically all the required material. Television transmission equipment particularly had a tendency to demand more software than could be produced locally.²

The tendency has been to import material, an economically attractive option, since television programs and films from the United States, in particular, could and can be rented for much less than the cost of domestic production.³ In 1976, a single half-hour of American television programming (which may have cost \$200,000 to produce) could be rented for showing in Costa Rica for between \$60 and \$70, or for viewing in Kenya for \$25 to \$30. On the other hand, local production of the cheapest Mexican "telenovelas" costs several thousand dollars per hour.⁴ Bare-bones, "talking-head" educational television costs almost \$300 per hour in Pakistan.⁵ A TV program director in a poor country with a small budget feels a great temptation to rely upon imported materials.

TABLE 1. IMPORTED PROGRAMMING AS A PERCENTAGE OF TELEVISION TIME 1970-1



Domestic % Imported % (A) = annual figures (W) = data based on sample weeks

From Tapio Varis, "Global Traffic in Television," Journal of Communication, 24:1, (Winter 1974), pp. 102-109. Courtesy of the Journal of Communication.

The export by the West of its communications hardware and software was seen as a natural corollary to the massive export of agricultural and industrial hardware and know-how to the developing nations during the 1960s. But just as some nations began reassessing development strategy generally, imported communications hardware and software have also been reappraised, as was their connection with the spread of Western mass culture throughout the world.

Alien Values

The reexamination of the content of Western mass cultural products generated several criticisms. Foremost among them perhaps, is the contention that films and television programs, as well as books and magazines, which are imported from the West and especially from the United States are bringing with them values and cultural trappings which may be inappropriate for some cultures. As with the transmission and dissemination of news, the point is that information is not value-free, especially when it is in the form of entertainment.

In a paper presented to the UNESCO International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems recently, Tunisian Secretary of State for Information Mustapha Masmoudi charged:

. . . publicity advertising, magazines and television programmes are themselves instruments of cultural domination. They transmit towards developing countries messages which are harmful to their cultures, contrary to their own system of values, and detrimental to their aims and their development efforts.⁶

More and more, too, the desirability and practicality of Westernizing vast numbers of people in the developing world has been questioned.⁷

There is a common desire to preserve and adapt, where possible, the traditional cultures of each nation undergoing modernization--to retain the unique blend which has given the developing nations their identities.⁸

In the information-poor environment of the Third World the impact of the visual media may be inordinately great. Literacy is often a skill possessed by a minority. And, even the literate in many Third World nations have little to read. But, viewing of television and films does not require literacy, at least in the conventional sense.

Studies in the United States have demonstrated that television programming establishes for the viewer a set of values reflecting and reinforcing certain aspects of the culture in which it is produced.⁹ When that programming is introduced into foreign cultures it often presents values--particularly about the relationship between men and women, parent and child, authority and the common man--which contradict the values in native culture which the government may be attempting to preserve or change. Moreover, these same traditional values, which outside stimuli may challenge, are often relied on by governments to legitimize their power. The result can be a great confusion of values in changing societies.

In some developing nations imported programs constitute a majority of the programs shown on television. Guatemala, for instance, imports 84 percent of its television programs, Zambia 64 percent and Malaysia 73 percent.¹⁰ Even in those countries where imported programs are a minority of those shown they tend to be concentrated in prime time viewing hours. While importers may have a wider choice of programming than they use (educational films are offered but not used as much as commercial series) most of the options are American or British, and therefore may seem relatively similar to an African or an Asian.

The fact should not be ignored that some nations and technocrats actively seek and welcome the coming of Western mass culture and the end to traditional culture, for they see the old ways as impediments to development and modernization.¹¹ Television has been used consciously by some governments to break down traditional values, and to introduce Western concepts such as the work ethic, thrift, and equality of sexes.

Portrayal of Western values of success, efficiency, upward mobility and material well-being has also been seen as a general spur to development, instilling in the public a desire for a more prosperous life. Against that assertion is the position that rising expectations turn into rising frustrations and unhappiness.¹² Although most of these assertions are backed by little or no research evidence, they are deeply held convictions which fuel the debate on international aspects of mass culture.

Also, the great campaigns in some nations to preserve and reinstitute "authentic" local culture may sometimes be more a reaction to the subjugation of that culture by former colonial rulers than a movement based on reasoned judgement.¹³ Most nations contain at least one, if not more, minority cultures that may be subject to the "cultural imperialism" of the majority or ruling culture.

Cultural Context

Other and more specific concerns follow from the overall uneasiness about the intrusion of Western and American mass culture through television programming and other cultural materials. Critics charge that much of the imported television programming is of low cultural quality. On the other hand, the technical quality of imported materials may be better than can be achieved locally.

Entertainment programming, with its pervasive violence and sex, comes in for particularly strong criticism, just as it has in the United States. Critics see the low cultural quality of much of Western and American programming as inevitable because it must be produced with the lowest common denominator in mind.

Even more disconcerting to some are that the forms of Western programming--the quiz show, the soap opera, etc.--are often imitated and adopted by the local media. The soap opera, in particular, has been imitated and adapted as telenovelas, which are popular throughout Latin America.¹⁴ On the other hand, these formats have also been used effectively to carry development and public educational messages.

It has been suggested that the reason U.S. television finds such acceptance overseas is that when it is produced for the domestic market it must accommodate the wide variations of culture within the United States itself. Critics throughout the Third World cannot deny that Western and American television programming is very popular in many countries.¹⁵ But, television generally is popular wherever it is introduced, no matter what the programming content or source.

Offensive Messages

Another familiar charge is that many of the programs carry cultural messages which morally offend the audience they reach. Many cultures in the Third World have strict moral prescriptions which may be openly flaunted in Western programming. Inevitably, any social mores presented will be offensive to some people, given the gap between the modern and traditional sectors of developing societies. On a more individual level, sensibilities may be offended by messages that challenge traditional attitudes toward sex, marriage, alcohol use and other basic social patterns. A few years ago, Moslem religious leaders in Saudi Arabia occupied a television station to protest the Western values portrayed in programming being broadcast.

Curiously, residents in the Buffalo area, one of the few sections of the United States near a major foreign television broadcasting concentration, have complained that some Toronto-originated television programs are morally objectionable.¹⁶ And, these same challenges to sex and violence in American television programs have been issued by critics within the United States.

The differences in value structures within many Third World countries exacerbate this problem. The urban, educated elite may have more Western values than the newer emigrants from the rural areas, who retain many more traditional values. Indeed, an individual in a rapidly changing society often faces a confusion of values, to which imported mass media messages may contribute.

Advertising and Commercialization

Underlying many of these complaints is a concern for the impact of advertising on the audience. Television, critics charge, often opens the road for commercialization, which fosters a passive consumer mentality in publics where the stress should be on production rather than consumption.¹⁷

Most broadcasting systems, especially those in the developing nations, are operated directly or indirectly by the government. With limited operating budgets, the temptation is strong to allow advertising to pay for the broadcast system. The fostering of demand for luxury and consumer goods in nations still trying to develop can create tension between the needs perceived by the public and the goals set by the government. Many less developed countries' governments are also attempting to foster the concept of saving among their peoples to help in the accumulation of capital for development, but advertising of alluring consumer goods works against this effort.

In addition, the trend towards the marshalling of all communication resources for development conflicts with the advertising-inspired dominance of entertainment programming in broadcasting. On the other hand, some have argued that commercial programming and advertising are themselves powerful example-setters of cleanliness, a balanced diet and other values crucial to development.

It sometimes happens that development messages, whether from governments or advertisers merely parrot Western-endorsed practices that are inappropriate and sometimes disastrous. Various American and European manufacturers of infant formulas and bottle feeding milk have, for instance, advertised heavily in some underdeveloped countries. But the

danger to infants from bottle feeding in areas where there is no clean water, refrigeration, or proper training for the mothers is great.¹⁸

The fact that American companies often place broadcast, print and other forms of advertising through American advertising agencies contributes to the charge, in some Third Worlders' eyes, that "cultural imperialism" is at work, linked closely with American international business interests. In the same statement cited earlier, Tunisia's Masmoudi said:

Then there is another method of control which is even more decisive at present, namely the near-monopoly of world publicity. This is wielded by the great publicity agencies which operate like communications transnationals, and which earn their incomes by serving the interests of the transnational industrial and commercial corporations which dominate the world of business.¹⁹

In 1975, 22 of the 25 largest advertising agencies in the world were American or closely associated through American investments. American agencies held dominant positions throughout much of the world.²⁰

The value of advertising as a raiser of aspirations and portrayer of values necessary for development was noted previously, as well as advertising's contribution to the survival of many broadcasting organizations in the Third World. Without advertising revenue, governments probably would not be willing to pay for the operation of the broadcasting system. This would lessen the chances of domestic film and television producers developing and marketing their own productions.

American support for "free flow of information" goes hand in hand, too, with the concept of free trade and the right of business to seek its markets. Advertising is a necessary concomitant of business, whether domestically or internationally. Advertising is the most viable means of spreading the news about products, its defenders would point out, and to bar advertising is to throw up a great barrier to international trade.

Control of Distribution

Confounding the whole situation in the international exchange of film and television programming, critics assert, is the alleged control of distribution channels by American film and television production companies.

Although the prices charged most Third World buyers are low, the sales revenue earned is very important to American production companies. Low sale prices established by the American networks in domestic sales means that the only way many film producing companies can break even and make money is through international sales. One estimate is that only 75 per cent of the costs of producing a typical prime time episode of Kojak, McCloud or Barreta (roughly \$400,000) is recovered in its sale to the American networks.²¹

To facilitate the distribution of American feature and television films overseas, the Motion Picture Export Association of America (MPEAA) was created shortly after the Second World War. In recent years the nine large companies in the MPEAA have accounted for 80 per cent of the revenues (from an estimated \$700-730 million in billings a year)²² earned overseas by American filmmakers. In the early 1970s, it was estimated that while only five per cent of the feature films produced worldwide a year were American, they occupied 50 per cent of the screen time in the "free world."²⁴

Moreover, low prices charged by the Western distributors have, it is said, stunted the growth of indigenous film and television programming units by offering technically polished productions at prices below what it will cost a local producer to make any sort of production, technically polished or not.²⁴ On the other hand, the availability of low priced programs to fill many hours of airtime may enable poor countries to spend their limited resources to produce relatively high quality programs on topics of local significance. If local production resources had to be spread over the entire broadcast day, broadcasting hours might have to be curtailed or the overall quality of programming lowered.

The data on film and television programming flows in the international marketplace on which critics base their charges has been challenged because it was compiled at a time--the mid 1960s to early 1970s--when American television and film companies were riding high. Increasing government intervention in broadcasting in much of the Third World at the start of this decade lead to the imposition of much stricter content controls. Far from being a goldmine for American

and Western filmmakers, the prices and profits earned in the Third World rather than in other Western markets may be relatively low.²⁵ Of the top fifteen revenue markets for Hollywood in 1974, the first eight were other developed countries, with South Africa and Brazil taking the ninth and tenth places respectively. Of the next five, two were European, three Latin American. These fifteen together accounted for 74 per cent of Hollywood's overseas revenues.²⁶ But, though the amount earned in sales to the Third World may be small in comparison to the revenues earned in sales to Europe. Third World sales could provide the narrow profit which gives one company the edge over its competitors and produces the overall profit for a production.

One possibly useful way of obtaining a perspective on "Third World" concerns would be to review the case of Canada, which has expressed its concerns over a wide variety of American cultural influences many times. Unlike many of the East bloc or Third World countries who raise these issues, Canada shares a common border, common language and common commitment to a democratic, free-enterprise system. Still, Canadian Secretary of State John Roberts was quoted recently as complaining that Canadian children's TV consists, for three out of four viewing hours, of U.S. programs. Two-thirds of all books sold in Canada are sold by foreign companies, most of them American. Each year, Canada pays \$65 million in film rentals to Hollywood, and just \$2 million to Canadian producers. Said Roberts:

The endangered species in the Canadian market is the Canadian expression of our own experience, the Canadian creative content....The distribution system of the United States threatens to overwhelm the expression of Canadian creativity.²⁷

However, control of the international market is being challenged by several regional broadcasting unions that have been established in order to facilitate the exchange and co-production of films (EBU-European Broadcasting Union, ASBU-Arab States Broadcasting Union, ABU-Asian Broadcasting Union, URTNA-The Radio and Television Union of Africa, OIRT-International Radio and Television Organization, CBU-Caribbean Broadcasting Union). Production in countries such as India and Mexico has grown rapidly and regional exchange arrangements have also been established. In addition, the broadcasting organizations of the non-aligned nations met to discuss greater cooperation and exchange of materials last October in Sarajevo, Yugoslavia.²⁸ No concrete action to form a pool was taken, but more cooperation between nations regionally and through the non-aligned movement could eventually result from such meetings.

Just as European nations reacted decades ago against the wide distribution of Hollywood productions,²⁹ Third World nations may also attempt to impose quotas on the amount of imported material which may appear on local movie screens and television. Increased aid to domestic filmmaking production units will probably follow. Third World nations may also become more critical when purchasing mass communication hardware, paying special attention to the hidden demands for imported software generated by certain communications hardware.

Future Trends

American producers of cultural messages may experience a decline in their access to and share of Third World markets in the coming years. But, this might not mean that revenues, overall, will be reduced. Television markets in the Third World, for instance, are expanding and the price which could be charged per program could go up accordingly.

Joseph Bellfort, Vice-president of the MPEAA, said that, while he has no hard statistics, he feels the number of countries imposing higher tariffs on imported films or quotas on the amount of screen time taken up by imported material is generally increasing. Screen quotas are especially being enacted, he said, in countries with "film industries or pretenses of industries." The only countries which have imposed quotas directly on imports are the Republic of China (Taiwan), India, 30 Indonesia and South Korea. Sales to Africa, generally, are increasing.

What, if any, exclusionary steps will be taken by various governments in the developing world and how much competition will develop is difficult to predict. But, governmental attempts to promote local culture and to foster national identity could encourage the imposition of restrictions on cultural imports. Canada, for instance, in considering its responses to the preeminence of American cultural products (in everything from advertising to magazines) passed a measure a few years ago which made it impractical for Canadian advertisers to buy space in Time/Canada and Reader's Digest/Canada. This resulted in the closing of Time's Canadian edition and in a complicated sale of Reader's Digest/Canada.³¹ Such examples could become more common throughout the world in the years ahead.

FOOTNOTES

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⁹George Gerbner and Larry Gross, "Living with Television: The Violence Profile," Journal of Communication, 26:2 (Spring 1976), pp. 173-176.

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- ¹⁶Allan Gotlieb, Charles Dalfen, Kenneth Katz, "The Transborder Transfer of Communications and Computer Systems: Issues and Guiding Principles," American Journal of International Law 68:2 (April 1974), p. 239.
- ¹⁷Alan Wells, Picture Tube Imperialism? (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1972), pp. 40-60.
- ¹⁸Herbert I. Schiller, "Advertising and International Communications," Instant Research on Peace and Violence, (4:1976), pp. 180-181, quoting from Boyce Resberger, "Drop in Breast Feeding Cause Health Problems in Poor Countries," The New York Times, 6 April 1976.
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- ²⁰Schiller, p. 177.
- ²¹Cees Hamelink, "The Cultural Synchronisation of the World," WACC Journal, Vol. XXV (1:1978), p. 7.
- ²²U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Relations, The Implications of International Communications and Information, Hearing, 95th Congr., 1st Sess., 9 June 1977 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1977), p. 210.
- ²³Thomas H. Guback, "The International Film Industry," Mass Media Policies in Changing Cultures, ed. George Gerbner (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977), p. 21-40.
- ²⁴Paul Hartmann, "Cultural Identity and Media Dependency," WACC Journal, Vol. XXV (1:1978), p. 3.
- ²⁵Tunstall, pp. 41-44.
- ²⁶Ibid., p. 299.
- ²⁷Hobart Rowan, "Buoyed by Canada-First Policy, Magazine Goes Weekly," Washington Post, 29 June 1978, p. A-18.

²⁸Mirko Popovic, "Cooperation Among Nonaligned Countries in Radio Broadcasting," Review of International Affairs, (28:663), 20 November 1977, pp. 1-3.

²⁹Guback, pp. 23-27.

³⁰Interview with Joseph Bellfort, Vice-president of the Motion Picture Exporters Association of America, New York City, 27 July 1978.

³¹Rowan.

TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER

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Background

The technological state of the Third World derives directly from the world economic order. Since the creation of new technology (defined as hardware plus techniques for its use) requires capital, most research and development occurs in the wealthy countries. A recent UN brochure maintains that the correct figure is 98 per cent.¹ Research and development naturally responds to the market conditions of wealthy countries and not the development needs of the Third World.

The debate on technology transfer is carried on by specialists and has received relatively little attention to date from international organizations. While the other debates seem to affect the life of the average man more directly, the long term impact of technology transfer may be as great. Forms of production and distribution have great impacts not only upon economies, but also upon cultures and societies, it has been argued.

Many questions have been raised recently about technologies which were transferred rather uncritically during the "first development decade." Do Western technologies benefit elite groups more than Third World masses? Are capital intensive technologies appropriate in labor-rich countries? These and other questions are applied to Western medicine, to the "green revolution," to local manufacture by multi-nationals, and to communication technologies ranging from radio, film, and TV to telephone, computers and satellites. Nonetheless, technology transfer does create wealth in the Third World and, thus, represents a partial solution to the economic order considerations.

Transfer of all types of technology has a major communication component. Most transfers to the Third World draw upon flows of books, journals and data bases. International consultancies and management fees often follow the "hardware." Training of Third World nations in Western universities and the importation of Western methods through patents and royalties are also common features. These are all vehicles for communication of information.

Still, the debate on the information aspects of technology transfer is different from that on other information issues, such as mass culture or national sovereignty. In these areas, Third World critics seek to limit flows of information and tend to complain of "dumping" by the West at unrealistically low prices.

A major criticism is that too little technical information is flowing, that costs should be lowered, and the flows should be made "freer" from regulation. Whereas the U.S. government favors "free flow" of news and cultural information, the U.S. emphasis in technology transfer is upon the rights of corporations to regulate the flow of proprietary information, to insist upon adequate compensation and to restrict exports of technologies deemed strategic. When export of technology involves the possible loss of jobs here, the public and labor become advocates for restrictions on the flow of technology.

The economic stakes of the United States are far greater in the area of technology transfer than in the better known debates. In 1973, knowledge exports, defined by Marc Porat as patent royalties, management fees, and consulting fees, amounted to over \$3 billion. In 1967, Porat reports the primary information sector (defined as information goods and services sold in markets) netted the U.S. a \$3 billion balance of trade surplus. Exports of computers in 1975 amounted to \$1.1 billion.² For comparison, the Associated Press derives less than one percent of its approximate \$80 million annual revenue from the Third World. U.S. film and TV exports worldwide produce a net balance of payments surplus of about \$400 million a year.³

However, the transfers of special interest to this study involve communications technologies themselves. It is the creation of a newspaper, a chain of movie houses or a television system which begins the flows of cultural and news products that have been the subject of the international debates on information. The "modern messages" which flow through these channels (and even the existence of the channel itself) have been seen as contributing to the social appetite for more technology of all types. Furthermore, the dynamics of the technology transfer process itself may constitute the root causes of some more visible aspects of the international communication debates.

Transfer of Communications Technology

In the last quarter century, there has been a great increase in the communications infrastructure of the developing world. The building of media system of various types (newspapers, radio, film, TV) was promoted vigorously by Third World governments, by bilateral aid programs,

and international organizations, particularly UNESCO. Wilbur Schramm's 1964 book, Mass Media and National Development, was particularly influential, convincing many that access to modern media would create attitudes in the Third World masses favorable to modernization and development.

During these years, much more emphasis was given to the importation of hardware and to training of equipment operators, than to the needs for building financially viable and technically competent production groups for software--films, TV programs. The assumption seems to have been that once the basic infrastructure was built, appropriate messages would be created and disseminated.

Radio

In the case of radio--the dominant mass medium in the Third World--the assumption has proven to have some merit. Over the last thirty years, radio's reach has expanded greatly. Although precise figures do not exist, one can say with relative certainty that a majority of Latin Americans have regular access to radio. The same would apply to at least sizeable minorities of Africans and Asians. Although millions of these listeners listen to international short wave broadcasts, they are exposed mostly to local national programming.

Still, the "appropriateness" of the programming varies broadly. In multi-lingual countries, broadcasting may be in one language not well known to large numbers of listeners. In most countries, radio has an urban orientation which may fail to serve rural people's needs. It is mostly in Latin America where the many small, privately-owned radio stations have an opportunity to take on local flavor. Still, UNESCO figures suggest that in all countries, radio oriented toward education and development represents a relatively small percentage of air time--averaging five percent.⁴

Television

As a medium for general cultural communications, television continues to expand rapidly, although from a much smaller and more urban base than radio. In 1975, UNESCO reported that 30 countries of Africa and Asia had no television. Although television remains confined primarily to urban areas and to relatively elite populations, the number of television receivers has expanded rapidly in many Third World countries:

<u>Country</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>
Morocco	5,000	174,000
Iran	38,000	300,000
Phillippines	38,000	400,000
Korea	" 8,000	418,000
Egypt	50,000	529,000
Mexico	650,000	2,993,000
Brazil	1,200,000	6,100,000 ⁵

The programming which those television viewers see continues to be largely imported, much of it from the U.S. However, there is a trend (cited by Schiller, Pool and Tunstall) toward the emergence of national television production centers, such as in Egypt and Mexico, which produce programming of increasing appeal to neighboring countries.

As Ithiel de Sola Pool has remarked, all things being equal, people will choose media products from their cultures. However, all things are not equal. Few nations can invest the money required to produce entertaining television programming. The essential fact of television economics--that the appetite of a television system for new programming requires a market of many millions to finance production--continues. Therefore, for most countries, television will continue to be an international medium with a high degree of foreign cultural influence.⁶

The Press

A particularly interesting case is the development of the printed press. According to UNESCO, the numbers of newspapers and their readership are not advancing in the developing world, unlike the broadcast media. Since they require physical distribution of messages and direct user finance, printed media operate at a disadvantage. In Africa, there are nine countries with no daily newspapers at all. In all but ten African countries, average daily circulation is less than twenty newspaper copies per thousand of population.⁷

The press remains a rather urban and elite form of communication. Of course, journalists will argue that the populations reached are the most literate and influential in their countries. What appears in the press is often repeated by broadcast media. Finally, it is argued that newspapers pass through many more hands in a developing country than is the case in the West.

Telecommunications

An area which attracts less attention but which has great long-term impact upon the development of all forms of communication is the creation of telecommunication infrastructures over which phone calls, news copy, radio and television signals are distributed. The middle income countries and the oil rich countries are now undergoing a revolution in telecommunication and are drawing heavily upon the newest Western technology to accomplish this.

Telecommunication technology transfer involves quite a different set of interests on the Western side than do the other technologies. A national telecommunication system requires huge amounts of money, much more than a broadcasting facility or a newspaper. Major Western multinational corporations compete keenly for these contracts with other Western countries and corporations. In many Third World countries, each ministry--aware of the maxim that information is power--wants desperately to control its own telecommunications system. This can lead to duplication and higher costs.

It is often economical for telecommunications systems being designed virtually from scratch to use state-of-the-art computerized switching techniques which have not even been fully implemented in the Western countries because of heavy investments in existing automated equipment. Third World nations that purchase the newer equipment may have less dependence upon foreign technicians than they did with the more maintenance-prone mechanical switching systems. However, when computerized switching systems do malfunction, they require highly skilled technicians to repair them.

Computers

Another important area of technology transfer is digital computers. While developing country use of these information machines will be far less pervasive than in the Western countries, their application will be in areas that are crucially important to the countries. With the exacting requirements for installation, maintenance, and programming, computers may be most likely to create unacceptable technological dependence. While it would extend beyond the scope of this paper to consider this technology in depth, it is interesting to note that some countries see this as an issue of national sovereignty. The government of India recently demanded part ownership of the local IBM subsidiary as the price of continued operations in that country. IBM refused, as a matter of corporate policy, and reluctantly withdrew from India. The government of Brazil recently decided to develop its own mini-computer industry in order to avoid dependence upon foreign corporations.

A number of assertions have been raised by Third World voices which apply to computers, telecommunications, broadcasting and the press. All grow out of the basic fact that most technology is developed in the West by large private corporations in response to the markets in developed countries. The technology available for transfer is alleged to be inappropriate in several ways.

Appropriate Technology

Most of the technologies transferred are said to have been overly capital intensive and to have benefitted elite and urban populations disproportionately. Countries that are capital-poor and labor-rich are demanding technology which favors maximum job creation at minimum capital cost. In countries whose problems are primarily rural, technologies which decentralize rather than centralize production and which avoid concentrations of wealth are favored. The alleged shortcomings of Western technology have often been attributed to the fact that Western development has been primarily "trickle-down," based on the dynamism of urban entrepreneurs.

The "appropriate technology movement" of recent years can be seen as a response to these types of criticisms. E.F. Schumacher, the chief proponent of appropriate technology--and, ironically, a Westerner--drew upon many years of association with technical assistance programs in Asia. Essentially, appropriate technology is defined as labor intensive technology which concentrates on the simplest possible technical solutions to problems. Small scale technology, using local available resources and skills, oriented toward satisfying basic human needs at the village level, is the essence of the movement.

In the communications area, appropriate technology advocates have argued for localized paper manufacture and printing and for community broadcasting. The cassette recorder for radio and the super 8 camera or half-inch video camera for TV are technologies which have yet to gain broad acceptance. Critics charge that the exaggerated sense of "professionalism" inculcated in Third World communications technicians trained in the West prevents them from choosing less-than full-scale (and expensive) "professional" studio equipment. Notable for its use of half-inch video was the Indian SITE satellite television project. The union of high and low technology allowed for broad dissemination of programming generated at the grass roots, involving rural people in production.

One commentator--wary of the assumption that the small technology is always the appropriate technology--has concentrated on the satellite as appropriate technology for many Third World communication needs.⁸ Although the overall system is expensive, satellites may allow for more communication services to be provided to rural areas in more interactive and horizontal ways than would be the case with smaller or more traditional technologies. However, others have pointed out that satellites can discourage localism by linking up distant sites and removing the cost barriers to long distance communication.

Although most Western economists are skeptical about the "appropriate technology movement," the approach does have a wide popular appeal. Furthermore, it would seem to complement the "basic human needs" approach to development which has been stressed by bilateral and multilateral assistance agencies for the past few years. Western economists also have severe doubts about the viability of stressing human needs such as nutrition, health and learning needs over an all-out commitment to infrastructure and production. Thus, the argument on technology easily slides into much larger questions.

Another key assertion is that technology transfer to date has not fostered links between developing countries. This assertion ignores the INTELSAT system which has provided communication links between its 90 members that would have taken years to develop using more traditional technologies. Nonetheless, transfers have generally gone from North to South, rather than South to South. The similar needs and similar experiences which bind the countries are said to call for technical cooperation between developing countries (TCDC). This sentiment was present as early as the first conference of non-aligned countries at Bandung in 1955. In that meeting, there was a call for renewal of the ancient links of communication and trade which had been cut off during the colonial era.

In recent years, more and more concrete actions have been taken. Brazilian construction firms compete with American firms for contracts in Africa, maintaining that the relative similarity of the Brazilian and African settings makes them better suited to find appropriate technical solutions than Americans.

The concept of technical cooperation among developing countries has been adopted by the UN General Assembly. In 1976 and 1977, regional intergovernmental meetings in Bangkok, Lima, Addis Ababa and Kuwait dealt with the topic. A full UN conference in Buenos Aires in August and September of this year will consider TCDC as a new dimension of international cooperation for development. Institutional arrangements

at the national and international levels to promote and conduct TCDC will be investigated. The conference will aim at producing a world plan of action for TCDC.

The Future

Part of the emphasis in TCDC is to "jointly strengthen (LDC) analytical, institutional and negotiating capacity for achieving closer economic relations with each other and increasingly equal partnership with developed countries."⁹ The idea of a more equal relationship with the developed countries through common action will, no doubt, affect the more traditional kinds of technology transfers from North to South.

There are many arrangements for technology transfer: direct investments, joint ventures, licensing, management contracts, turnkey projects, copyrights, patents, franchises, royalties and others. Some would seem to keep control largely in the hands of the technology providers, others to transfer control to the recipient.

The forms most prevalent in many areas (direct investment and joint venture) may not be so important to communications in countries which have nationalized their industries. Still, choices among transfer mechanisms and the tone of the relationships will probably be affected by events in the coming years. UN conferences on science and technology in 1979 and 1980 on satellites could consider these topics.

Ironically, these two conferences have very little in the way of communications-related items explicitly listed on their provisional agendas. The latter will be held after the 1979 General WARC, at which many decisions influencing the course of satellite development will be made. In any event, the debate surrounding technology transfer (in general and communication technology, specifically), can be expected to sharpen over the next few years.

Mustapha Masmoudi, Tunisia's Secretary of State for Information, may have set the agenda for those debates in this call for action before the MacBride Commission:

Immediate measures in the field of communication should all be geared to the following objectives:

- formulating an international code of conduct governing the transfer of technology which corresponds to the specific needs and conditions of developing countries;

- improving the conditions of access to modern technologies and adapting them as appropriate to the economic, social and ecological conditions peculiar to the developing countries and to their varying development levels;
- extending the assistance given by the developed to the developing countries in the form of research-and-development programmes and by developing appropriate local technologies;
- setting up a genuinely independent body responsible for advising developing countries on the choice, establishment and use of communications technology (hardware and software).¹⁰

FOOTNOTES

¹Bridges Across the South, United Nations Development Program, 1978, p. 5.

²Marc U. Porat, "Global Implications of the Information Society," Journal of Communication, Winter, 1978, p. 75.

³U.S., Congress, Senate, Subcommittee on International Operations of the Committee on Foreign Relations, The Implications of International Communications and Information, Hearings, 95th Cong., 1st Sess., 9 June 1977 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1977), p. 210.

⁴These figures are taken from the UNESCO Statistical Yearbook, 1974, and are based upon data from eighty-five countries.

⁵UNESCO Statistical Yearbook 1972, pp. 863-884.

⁶Ithiel de Sola Pool, "Direct Broadcast Satellites and Cultural Integrity," Society, October 1975, pp. 52-55.

⁷UNESCO, World Communications (Paris, the UNESCO Press, 1975), p. 3.

⁸Frank Norwood, "Broadcast Satellite: 'Appropriate Technology' Available Now," Exchange 13 (Winter 1978), pp. 27-28.

⁹Bridges Across the South, p. 1.

¹⁰Mustapha Masmoudi, "The New World Information Order," document presented to the UNESCO International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems," Paris, 10-12 July 1978, p. 29.

NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

Background

After the Second World War and during the years when new nations were emerging from colonial rule, the unhampered flow of communication was viewed as a means of promoting peace and understanding, spreading technical advances and promoting development. Now, information of all types is seen by many governments as a tool which can be used by its creators and disseminators to achieve specific political and commercial ends. Often, it is alleged, the communicator is a private industry whose objective is to sell its products in the international marketplace. News and entertainment often reflect the political orientations and cultural values of the producers and the nation controlling communication flow. The free-flow principle is viewed by some countries as a pretext used by the United States to influence other countries' development and to undermine national sovereignty.¹

The narrow interpretation of national sovereignty merely refers to the nation state's right to protect its borders from military aggression. The broadest interpretation of national sovereignty grants governments the right to control not only the borders of the state but the physical, economic, social and information environment within those borders. The basis for the caution over the international flow of information is that "social change begins with welcomed or uninvited ideas which inevitably accompany the technical communications evolution."²

All societies try to develop mechanisms for channeling social change and for maintaining social order. To fulfill this assignment, they regulate the creation and distribution of information. U.S. society encourages the circulation of whatever ideas can survive in markets (some relatively free, some relatively regulated). Americans assume that diversity and quality will result from this approach. The U.S. does not use much foreign media programming and, therefore, does not see its national sovereignty threatened by international communication.

Due to the size and diversity of the U.S. market, the technological "headstart" the U.S. enjoyed and the dynamism of U.S. media entrepreneurs, American media have had great influence internationally for many years. However, governments have always been able, if they chose to, to inspect foreign cultural products at the border and to act as "gatekeepers."

The exception to that general rule has been international broadcasting, which has been common for more than 40 years. Despite the longevity of the efforts and the expense, Eastern European nations and the Soviet Union still jam Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. The People's Republic of China jams Chinese broadcasts from the Voice of America, also. The Third World, too, is beginning to challenge international broadcasting. A prominent Third World spokesman recently called upon the developed nations "to put an end to the pernicious activity of foreign stations implanted outside their national limits."³

For those nations who fear challenges to their sovereignty through the flow of information in and out of their country, the emerging satellite technology is of special concern. Direct broadcasting satellites, which would transmit directly to relatively conventional television receivers, and remote sensing satellites, which generate information about crops and resources, are both technologically capable of circumventing the traditional "gatekeeper" functions of governments. International movement of computer data, often through satellite channels, is also seen as a challenge to national sovereignty. In the following pages, these issues will be discussed in more detail.

Direct Broadcast Satellites

Direct television broadcasting by satellite from one country to another without the prior consent of the receiving state is a violation of national sovereignty, it is alleged.

The problem of broadcast spillover is not new. Unintentional spillover from domestic radio and television broadcasting is commonplace throughout much of the world. Problems with unintentional spillover have generally been settled bilaterally or regionally by technicians and engineers.

Direct broadcast satellites are viewed by many as a marked technical escalation in the international broadcasting competition. DBS would be both less vulnerable and more flexible than conventional shortwave ground station transmitters. They would also be able to use television--a much more powerful, and in some people's minds, dreaded medium than shortwave radio.

As mentioned in the UN debates section, the U.S. position has been that DBS regulation would be contrary to U.S. principles and politically undesirable. The Americans feel that DBS regulation at this point would be premature and that arrangements will evolve as the

technology develops. Among U.S. claims is that regulation at this point will inhibit technological progress and interfere with a country's sovereign right to transmit within its own borders. The Japanese, for instance, are going to experiment with DBS to reach remote portions of their nation with television.

More technically-familiar U.S. voices point out that no frequencies (not even those in the 12 GHz band assigned at the 1977 WARC) have been dedicated to international satellite broadcasting. Furthermore, technicians point out that the 1971 Space WARC effectively rules out unwanted satellite broadcasts from other nations on technical grounds. Finally, it is argued that nations not desiring to receive foreign satellite broadcasts could easily prevent importation or local manufacture of the antennas and electronics that would be required to adapt home television sets for satellite reception.

On the other hand, there have been reports of enterprising Canadians defying laws prohibiting private ownership of satellite reception stations by building home-made equipment which can receive the television broadcasts of Canada's experimental CTS satellite.⁴ The frequent failure of many technical experts to foresee revolutions in radio, TV, and satellites may also justify the fears of diplomats. Aggravating these fears is the lack of contact between diplomats debating in the UN and the technicians who make WARC agreements and follow the state of the art.

One perspective is that the cross-border DBS issue has proven so fruitful a ground for debate precisely because it has not existed as a technological reality, and (in the best current judgement of the technically-minded) probably never will. Exaggerated fears and statements cannot be checked against reality. In fact, DBS may have been chosen as a convenient symbol for expressing the general fear of cultural intrusion.⁵

Still, countries take the DBS issue seriously. The U.S.S.R. has claimed the right to destroy any foreign satellite broadcasting into its borders--a threat made more ominous by speculation about Soviet "killer satellites." Canada and Sweden have proposed twin principles of prior consent and participation of recipient countries in programming.⁶ The U.S. continues to oppose regulation.

Remote Sensing Satellites

The broadest assertion voiced is that remote sensing by one nation of another nation's territory without prior consent is an incursion against the sensed nation's sovereignty. Remote-sensing satellites are used for both military and civilian purposes. Military satellites are used to gather intelligence from other countries and are considered vital to both U.S. and Soviet defense. Intelligence-gathering has always been recognized as an infringement on national sovereignty and, as such, has been carried on covertly.

However, according to Edward Ploman, "Cries about 'spies in the skies'. . . are dangerously naive. The use of remote-sensing technology for surveillance has become an important factor in current discussions fo disarmament and control of nuclear weapons. Remote sensing makes it possible to circumvent the issue of an on-site inspection, which has always been one of the major stumbling blocks in the way of an international agreement."⁷

Due to the covert nature of military intelligence-gathering, the debates surrounding military satellites have tended to focus on safety and the registration of objects in outer space. These discussions intensified after a Russian satellite carrying a radioactive nuclear power source crashed recently in Canada and America's "skylab" slipped in orbit.

The first civilian use of remote-sensing satellites was for global weather monitoring. Weather satellites proved to be politically neutral. Later applications in disaster prediction and relief also proved relatively non-controversial. However, satellites developed and launched later by the United States capable of gathering data on earth resources have proven controversial indeed.

There is little doubt that sophisticated institutions can use remote-sensing data to increase their political and economic power relative to less sophisticated institutions. Knowledge of likely oil deposits, projections of crop yields, and better estimates of mineral concentrations can help developed world governments and multi-national corporations make better political judgements and better bids in international markets. International law traditionally grants a nation exclusive rights to its natural resources. However, the problem posed by remote-sensing technology is whether or not a state also has exclusive rights to information on those natural resources.

Data Dissemination

A second assertion maintains that the dissemination of data gathered about a country by remote-sensing satellites should only be disseminated with the prior consent of that country. Currently, raw data on all countries generated by the U.S. "Landsat" series of satellites is disseminated to any and all parties at very low prices. Data analysis services are also made available to those willing and able to pay. However, data that has been processed and analyzed is considered proprietary information.

Developing country planners are aware of the utility of analyzed data to Third World development. However, most of the analytical expertise, as well as the Landsat technology, is American. Third World governments fear dependence upon the U.S. for data analysis. In the process, intimate knowledge of resources would be shared with U.S. parties. Critics of the status quo would, by and large, prefer to see remote sensing handled by an international body, than by the U.S. government.

Transborder Data Flows

An assertion frequently made by spokesmen in Western Europe and Canada (but now spilling over into the North-South debate) is that transborder flows of information on domestic matters to foreign computers inhibits oversight by the home government.

A significant amount of the processing of domestic European data is being done by American firms which receive the data via satellite or cable transmission. Much of this data pertains to individuals and their personal affairs (personal records, banking, insurance and credit data). Governments in Europe have expressed concern over their inability to safeguard the privacy of their citizens when such data is transferred to foreign data banks, where privacy laws may be more lax.

As a result, Germany and Sweden have enacted more comprehensive privacy laws than those of other countries, particularly the United States. European oriented institutions such as the Council of Europe and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) are considering these questions and some countries are pressing for tough international standards. They fear that countries with relatively lax privacy laws could become "data havens" to which computer data would be transmitted for processing and utilization in ways that might be illegal in the data's country of origin.

Some American observers have seen these reactions in Europe as inspired by desires to protect and stimulate the growth of domestic computer industries. Advocating free trade, these observers have sought to preserve the right of the American computer industry to compete for European data processing business.

While the cross-border "data flow issue has been primarily an issue between developed countries to date, there are indications that it may spill over into the North-South debate. According to a recent study, Algeria allows no transmission of computer data to other countries. The same report attributed this to the U.S. prohibition on sales of computer monitoring equipment to the Algerian government.⁸ A UN official has referred to the dependence of Francophone African countries upon French banking and computerized credit files as an example of a possible area for such concern. The same official cites data held by U.S. credit card companies on the spending behavior of nations from many developing countries as another area of possible future concern.⁹

In a statement recently submitted to UNESCO's International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, Mustapha Masmoudi, Tunisia's Secretary of State for Information (and a frequent spokesman for the non-aligned movement) argued that the new world "information order" must promote a new conception of access to information based on:

regulation of the collection, processing and transmission of news and data across national frontiers, and in particular of transnational processing, memorization, and storage systems so as to protect the individual's right to private life and to ensure respect for the dignity of communities and nations.¹⁰

The issue of transborder flows can be expected to grow more important in the North-South dialogue on information.

In conclusion, the traditional preoccupation over alleged infringements on national sovereignty by international shortwave broadcasting has been joined by concerns over the capabilities of new technologies. Direct broadcasting satellites, remote sensing satellites and cross-border data flows (often using satellite channels), in particular, have generated these fears. Implications for the future may include a redefinition of national sovereignty that extends beyond traditional notions of geographical or spatial sovereignty and into "informational sovereignty." In the view of many, this would be in keeping with the nature of power in the "information age."¹¹

FOOTNOTES

¹Nicholas M. Poulantzas, "Direct Satellite Telecommunications: A Test for Human Rights Attitudes," Revue Hellnique de Droit International, (1-4: 1974), pp. 226-237.

²Jon T. Powell, "Direct Broadcast Satellites: The Conceptual Convergence of the Free Flow of Information and National Sovereignty," California Western International Law Journal, 6:7 (Winter 1975), pp. 27-28.

³Mustapha Masmoudi, Tunisian Secretary of State for Information, "The New World Information Order," mimeographed paper presented to the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, Paris, 10-12 July, 1978, p. 18.

⁴Personal telephone conversation between the Study Director and Bill Melody of Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, British Columbia, June 1978.

⁵Ithiel de Sola Pool, "Direct Broadcast Satellites and Cultural Integrity," Society, October 1975, pp. 52-55.

⁶Abram Chayes and Paul Laskin, "A Report on International Telecommunications Policy," in Direct Broadcasting from Satellites: Policies and Problems, Studies in Transnational Legal Policy, No. 7, 1975, p. 12.

⁷Edward Ploman, "Remote Sensing: The Uses of Information," Inter-media, 6:2 (April 1978), p. 13.

⁸John Clippinger, "Who Gains from Telecommunications Development," report from the Program on Information Resources Policy, Harvard University, 1976.

⁹Jonathan Tourtellot, "World Information War?" European Community, January-February 1978, pp. 11-15.

¹⁰Masmoudi, p. 23.

¹¹Hamid Mowlana, "Political and Social Implications of Communications Satellite Applications in Developed and Developing Countries," Economic and Policy Problems in Satellite Communications, edited by Joseph N. Pelton and Marcellus S. Snow (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1977), p. 133.

COMMUNICATION RIGHTS

Treatment of Journalists and Media Access to Information

A widely recognized human rights issue in the area of communication regards the treatment of journalists and their rights of access to information in foreign countries. Over the years, American reporters have been arbitrarily arrested, in some cases jailed for long periods of time or even physically abused, while abroad. In recent months, this problem has received increasing attention.* As in the larger debate over the flow of information, there is a conflict here between what some States see as their natural sovereign rights and what some believe the individual rights of a foreign correspondent are in seeking information and reporting what he perceives as newsworthy.

Although this issue is by no means restricted to an East-West framework, a clear example of the problems involved can be seen in the aftermath of the Helsinki Accords (Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe). The appearance of dissident groups in Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R., formed to monitor adherence to the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords, and the problems created as Western newsmen attempt to transmit the grievances of these groups to the West have been the cause of great controversy. On the one hand, Westerners claim that they have a right to speak with the dissidents, a right they feel has been established by international law. The opponents of free access of media to information, on the other hand, claim that such a principle ignores or attempts to undermine the natural rights of government authorities to maintain domestic order by protecting their citizenry (some would say protect their own authoritarian rule) from what is seen as distorted, disruptive, one-sided reporting. Reports that the CIA has used foreign correspondents to assist in clandestine activities have been used by critics of American reporting

*The U.S. Senate recently stressed the importance of fair treatment of journalists and of access to news sources by incorporating into its version of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act for 1979 language mandating the U.S. government to support efforts in international fora to formulate measures to list the rights of journalists and to put more pressure on governments that presently condone or take part in harrassment of journalists.

to back up their charges. Thus, measures have been taken to cut off the contacts between dissidents and reporters. In the minds of more militant critics of the Western press, strong actions may be in order.

Whether claims of sovereign rights justify mistreatment of journalists, which often seem to violate individual rights, is open to question. Some observers feel that the continuing practice of restricting the rights of Western journalists in parts of the East bloc could encourage some of the less stable Third World countries to do the same.

But this issue is just one, although a much discussed one in the West, of the many basic philosophical questions which revolve around human communication rights in the world today. Even while proponents of States' rights and sovereignty over individual human rights seem to be winning more support in international fora, others are discussing how the human right to communicate can be expanded and its meaning broadened.

The Right to Communicate

One of the most important human rights documents is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights passed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948. Of particular concern is its Article 19, which mentions the freedom for individuals to seek, receive and impart information. Article 19 has been repeatedly invoked during debates in international fora by both strong advocates and opponents of the unrestricted free flow of ideas, clearly reflecting the often conflicting interpretations of communication rights which grow out of existing social, cultural, and political differences between States. A good illustration of this situation, again, are the positions the East and West have taken toward the Helsinki Accords.

Westerners point to the so-called "Third Basket" of this document, which contained articles calling for increased human contacts and exchange of culture and ideas, as a victory for human rights and the free flow of information. However, the East bloc States point to articles in other parts of the Final Act, which strongly uphold the sovereign equality and rights of States, as reaffirmation of a State's right to ban or restrict any information which is "offensive" to its citizenry. Thus, East bloc States feel justified in continuing policies on the movement of people and exchange of ideas which, in the view of Westerners, are contrary to the spirit of Helsinki.

Because of these often seemingly irreconcilable differences on the true interpretation of Article 19 and other existing formulations of the definition of freedom of information, efforts have been undertaken by numerous groups to evaluate existing communication rights and attempt to define a new human right--the right to communicate. It appears that this subject will gain increasing attention and the U.S. role and response will probably be significant.

In the past six years, professionals in the communication field from a large number of countries have contributed to the dialogue on and study of the "right to communicate." Much of the dialogue has been carried on in international professional associations, most notably in the London-based International Institute of Communication. With the introduction of a resolution by Sweden in 1974, which called on the Director General "to study ways and means by which active participation in the communication process may become possible and analyze the right to communicate" UNESCO has been actively involved in the development of this new human right. Presently, the UNESCO-sponsored non-governmental International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems (the MacBride Commission) has the definition of the right to communicate as one of four key items on its agenda. Additionally, this right has been under study at a dozen universities in various parts of the world, including the University of Hawaii and the East-West Communication Institute.

The effort has been criticized by some for being overly idealistic. However, the very strength of the effort lies in the determination to move outside the constraints of day-to-day business. One recent formulation provides a broad framework which takes into account the increasing impact of communications upon society, and the new possibilities offered by communication technology:

Everyone has the right to communicate; the components of this comprehensive right include but are not limited to the following communication rights:

- a right to assemble, a right to participate, and related association rights;
- a right to inform, a right to be informed, and related information rights: and
- a right to privacy, a right to language, and related cultural evolution rights.

Within the world communication order, the achievement of a right to communicate requires that communication resources be available for the satisfaction of human communication needs.¹

The working statement above extends Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights from an information right into a comprehensive right to communicate. This formulation preserves the basic content of Article 19 while incorporating components from other articles in that Declaration, such as a right to assemble and a right to privacy, and it includes new components such as a right to participate and a right to language. Thus, the right to communicate differs enough from previous formulations to merit being called a new human right.

The extension of Article 19 was made necessary by a new conceptualization of the role of communication in human society and by unprecedented developments in communication technology. Where previously communication had been seen as the one-way process of a source transmitting a message to a receiver, the new view of communication stresses that human communication is a two-way process that is fundamentally interactive and participatory. Importantly, the new technologies provide the capability required for such interactive and participatory communication.

More specifically, the phrase "everyone has the right to communicate" extends the earlier "everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression." The component rights are grouped in association rights, information rights and cultural evolution rights.

The Right to Participate

The claim that communication must be interactive and participatory has been at the heart of the right to communicate dialogue and study. For this reason, certain aspects of Article 20 on human association, particularly the right to assemble, have been included. Further, the widespread insistence on active participation in the communication process leads to a new communication right: a right to participate.

Participation in the international communication can be viewed in three levels:

1. Active participation in use of the media--access to the existing facilities. This would include such things as equitable access to the use of satellite systems, data banks, cables, international broadcasting systems, and so forth.

2. Active participation in the policy and planning process of international communication by those affected by it. This would include effective roles in international organizations such as ITU and UNESCO and perhaps input into the largely private transnational communication enterprises (TNCE) such as the global news agencies, film and television production and distribution companies, and so forth. This can come directly to the enterprises concerned or through development of national communication policies.

3. Active participation or co-creation of media content. This would include exchange efforts in putting Third World programs on U.S. media, greater internationalization of the transnational communication enterprises, effective decentralization of some aspects of the TNCEs, more consultation on program content from non-American and particularly Third World audiences.²

The worldwide demand for interactive and participatory communication requires a number of communication rights that can be organized under the general heading of association rights.

The association rights are of highest importance for both the small talk of everyday life and for the long-term dialogue necessary to formulate great ideas. The right to communicate itself provides one convenient example, for it has grown out of multicultural dialogue. Further, the rights of association are of critical importance to the one-half of the world's adults who are not literate, and to the very many poor who do not have access to needed information from any reliable source except through interpersonal communication. This includes not only many people in Third World countries, but also the poor in rural areas and city ghettos of the industrial nations.

The second area, information rights, has in recent years received most of the attention. While Article 19 boldly claims that everyone has the right to "seek, receive, and impart information," the critical examination of information imbalance leads to the observation that in practice Article 19 has been a "receive only right." The implementation of Article 19 was widely expected to be achieved by the development of mass media. The unexpected result was a one-way information flow. In retrospect, we know that mass media structures work that way--there are a few sources, there are many receivers. In the new formulation, the rights to inform and to be informed are understood to be active rights.

The third area, cultural evolution rights, is historically the newest, the least defined, and the most directly related to problems of cultural imperialism. It includes a right to privacy and expands

it to cover not only individuals but cultural communities. Human groups have also a right to be let alone. A right to language is included in recognition of the cultural implications of language, both for small countries and for minorities in larger countries. In sum, a culture has a right to evolve in terms of its own values without being swamped by information from the outside, or deprived of the information needed to nourish and enrich its cultural traditions. In this special sense, everyone has a right not to communicate.

Policy Changes

The three areas of association, information and cultural evolution--and the component rights included in them--have contingent freedoms and responsibilities. As the relationship and balance between freedom and responsibility is worked out for a given communication right, issues of resource allocation must arise. These issues will require policy and political decisions to be made.

Indeed, the changes contemplated by the developers of the right to communicate would require basic policy changes in many nations. In the trend toward comprehensive communication planning, one can see initial efforts to deal with the implications of new communication technology. In the West, Canada, Australia, and Sweden have produced forward-looking plans for the development of telecommunications in their societies. The United States is now in the throws of rewriting the Communications Act of 1934 and of formulating a policy in international communications. In the developing world, Indonesia, Brazil, and a consortium of Arab states stand out for having undertaken comprehensive planning for satellite communications as a support to national development.

Insofar as communication's role in society grows, governments are realizing that the type of communications system--the responsibilities and rights involved, the parties in whom these rights and responsibilities are vested--will have major influences upon the course of societal development. For this reason, there is hope that the effort to define a "right to communicate" may gain some consideration in communications policies developed by governments.

On the other hand, governments also must act as brokers of power within their societies. Insofar as institutions already active in communication influence decisions taken by their governments, institutional interests may have more to say about the course of government communications planning than those who support the "right to communicate."

If governments do resolve to transcend important interest groups and broaden the range of participants in the communication process, it will be a massive and historic undertaking. Research has shown that economically poor people are also "information poor," who often fail to feel the need to communicate or seek information.⁴ Still, basic values such as democratic participation in an age of giant institutions would seem to call for a more open communications process than is found in almost any country. Definition and implementation of the "right to communicate" can be considered a priority item on the agenda of any country hoping to maintain and develop a society based upon participation and diversity.

FOOTNOTES

¹Drawn from manuscript submitted by L.S. Harms, Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii at Manoa, June 1978.

²Drawn from manuscript submitted by Jim Richstad, East-West Communication Institute, Honolulu, June 1978.

³L.S. Harms and Jim Richstad (eds.), Evolving Perspectives on the Right to Communicate (Honolulu: East-West Institute, 1977).

⁴Kaarle Nordenstreng, "From Mass Media to Mass Consciousness," Mass Media Policies in Changing Cultures, ed. George Gerbner (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977), p. 273.

IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this report has been to summarize the debate on the world "information order." We have traced the history of the debate in several international fora. In the UN, previous support for the "free flow of information" has given way to concerns over national sovereignty vis-a-vis the emerging technologies of satellite broadcasting and remote sensing. In UNESCO, earlier consensus over "free flow" has moved toward emphasis on "free and balanced flow." In the ITU, the principle of "equal access" to telecommunications seems to be replacing the previous "first come, first served" orientation, which was more to the liking and advantage of the U.S. Among the non-aligned countries, momentum seems to be building on a number of communications issues.

In addition to a historical review, we have discussed several issue areas of prime importance in the debate. In the areas of news and mass culture, concern has been voiced by representatives of Western countries as well as Third World and East bloc countries regarding U.S. dominance in world markets. American technological influence has been questioned and even seen as a threat to national sovereignty in some cases. Human rights issues affecting communications such as access to news sources and treatment of journalists, are subject to interpretations which often conflict with traditional U.S. beliefs. While it would extend beyond our scope to recommend specific policies for confronting these changes, a number of implications can be foreseen.

A prime conclusion which can be derived from a review of the world "information order" debates is that U.S. perceptions of the challenges to the "free flow of information" have been incomplete. American leaders have tended to attribute most of the changed atmosphere to the needs of authoritarian governments to shield their people from the truth, in order to perpetuate their rule. While this motivation is a factor in some East bloc and Third World countries, it does not explain differences between the U.S. and smaller Western nations. It also overlooks the fact that most countries in the world have deep and honest differences with the U.S. regarding the appropriate role of mass media within societies and internationally.

In an increasingly interdependent world, American desire to understand and accommodate these differences will be crucially important in any attempt to move beyond current confrontations over information issues. We cannot expect the professed American values of free speech and cultural diversity to have credibility internationally unless American policies show firm support for new complementary communication channels which carry news and information as seen through others' eyes. Furthermore, the U.S. has direct interests in obtaining more information about other peoples and their perceptions of the world and of us. In the long term, the democratic values Americans cherish will have the greatest chance of surviving if steps are taken now to make world communications more open, and more culturally and politically diverse. This means not only continuing free access by all to American ideas, but also removing the many self-imposed impediments to our access to foreign ideas. In short, it is in the U.S. interest to promote a world "information order" which suits the new demands for cross-cultural understanding necessitated by an interdependent multi-polar world.

The assumption underlying the above statements is that the debate on the world "information order" should not be regarded as merely a threat to U.S. power (although the East bloc may try to exploit it as such). Rather, the debate is a manifestation of larger changes in the world system, whereby many countries, cultures, and peoples are demanding a right to participate actively in world politics, world economics and world communications. There is a certain parallel, too, with the recent efforts at self-assertion by various minority groups within the United States. The country has met these challenges with some success and has emerged with a more pluralistic and democratic public process. Responding to corresponding international pressures will be much more demanding. Adjustment will involve many more stresses and strains. However, the assumption of the study director (and most of the advisors to this study) is that maintenance of the status quo in international communications is not a viable option for the future.

There are several types of action which might help bring about a constructive U.S. role in the creation of a new "information order." American spokesmen (public and private) who are well-informed about the important issues and who show respect for various viewpoints can contribute a great deal toward minimizing unnecessary ill will and misunderstanding. Greater knowledge of the broad social impacts of U.S. private media decisions overseas can help Americans anticipate and accommodate foreign reactions to our media. Fulfilling America's stated commitment to assist the Third World in building their communications capabilities would probably help convince many of American good faith and create a more cooperative atmosphere. Expanded international contacts

between communications professionals (which could be undertaken within the framework of existing U.S. exchange programs) could go far in eliminating some basic misperceptions and misunderstandings. Below, we will elaborate on each of these topics.

U.S. Spokesmen

In view of the key American role in international communications, it is crucially important that U.S. spokesmen be well versed in the various issues in the world "information order" debate, and that they show empathy for non-American approaches. To do so will help them deal more effectively with ideas that conflict with American values. To fail to do so will make them seem arrogant and uncompromising.

In some circumstances it may be appropriate to acknowledge the difficulty of empathizing with the critics. As the world's leading communications power, the U.S. is almost always a sender, rather than a receiver of news, culture and technology. Americans have little experience as recipients of massive flows of foreign information. Until recently, many Americans also had trouble understanding other countries' concerns about foreign investment--until Arab investors began buying U.S. banks and real estate. Rumors once circulated about foreign purchase of a major U.S. media enterprise and caused no small amount of concern.

For those directly involved with international communications--such as ICA teams abroad--redoubled emphasis should be placed upon competence in understanding and working with local communications systems and their relationship to international information flows. With its existing base to build upon, ICA could serve as a great source of knowledge and expertise on the day-to-day aspects of the world "information order" debates.

Cross-Cultural Communication Research

Better knowledge of the impacts of U.S. media internationally and of modern media, generally, upon societies is important not only to U.S. spokesmen, but would also serve to improve the content of the debate. For all the strongly felt assertions about the impact of news, culture, and technology, very little widely accepted data is available that can be compared cross-culturally. If a base of solid, mutually agreed upon data could be generated, all parties to the debate would benefit.

In several quarters, the point is being made that such information would have to grow out of cooperatively designed, mutually conducted research. At the Cairo Conference on the International News Media and the Developing World, results of some media research that was presented lost credibility with Third World delegates for having been designed and conducted in a purely Western (and heavily quantitative) mode. Voices in the movement to define a "right to communicate" have begun work on research models that might be truly cross-cultural, and therefore relevant and credible to a broad range of countries and spokesmen. George Gerbner's work on "cultural indicators" in TV programming represents another approach.¹

The above approaches could be very useful as a base for building comprehensive cross-cultural and comparative research projects which could establish common grounds from which to build a better-informed dialogue on the "information order." It could also make a significant contribution in helping Americans broaden their understanding of the social impacts of communication.

U.S. Government and the Private Media Flows

There are, of course, major constraints upon the role which the U.S. Government can play in addressing foreign governments' complaints about private U.S. media flows--which encompass most of the items in dispute. Freedom of speech in broadcasting and exchange of ideas in general is protected by the First Amendment from U.S. Government control. Export of communications technology (except for strategic technology) is also within the private, rather than the public sector. Therefore, there is a real question regarding what the U.S. Government can do to address the truly major controversies.

To achieve an international communications policy that would serve the best interest of the United States, the United States finds itself in an extraordinarily demanding circumstance. The very ethic that gives the American communication system its vitality--free speech and independence from government constraints--also leaves no one institution with a view of the overall impact of U.S. communications abroad and to one institution in control. Most other nations can represent their international interests in communications with a much more unified voice than the U.S.

For example, the activities of the International Communication Agency represent only a fraction of all U.S. Government activities in international communication. Also, compared to the presence of U.S.

private media, U.S. Government activities abroad represent only a small aspect of the overall U.S. presence. As a result, it has been extremely difficult to forge a unified policy on international communications.

One very important function which the U.S. government could serve would be to explain the nature of our system to foreign representatives so they are aware of this situation. In countries where the government has a much greater role in communications, people may have difficulty comprehending the U.S. situation. Seeing the way in which the U.S. government has supported the interests of private U.S. media, they may have difficulty believing that the U.S. government does not heavily influence the content of private media.

Interruptions and dislocations to the "free flow of information," such as the Canadian case described above in the Mass Culture section, suggest the need for some mechanism to help individual U.S. private media enterprises assess the broad foreign policy implications of their current activities and their realistic future options. While it might be improper for the U.S. government to play this role directly, public or foundation funding of such efforts through non-profit organizations or universities might be an acceptable approach. Relatively neutral U.S. organizations might play a useful role exploring options that relate individual institutional interests to overall U.S. interests, and short-term concerns to long-term concerns.

In order to do this, studies could be undertaken of various countries' laws and regulatory policies and of their effect upon the U.S. interest in open, responsive and responsible international communication. The long-term foreign policy benefits and costs of various situations could be evaluated. Strategies for responding to various legal and regulatory changes in other countries could be devised. However, it would be important not to approach this as a narrow exercise in political strategy-making.

To proceed in a spirit of cooperation, it would be crucial to keep perspective on why other countries may change laws and regulations. While there may often be a component of political mischief-making or economic protectionism, there is also serious discussion underway in most countries regarding the social role of increasingly influential communications media. Countries which decide in favor of a philosophy different from the U.S. approach claim to have sovereign rights to enact laws and regulations affecting incoming U.S. private media flows. The challenge for public and private U.S. parties will be to acknowledge these philosophies and to balance them with basic U.S. values and the interests of U.S. private communicators.

U.S. Government Technical Assistance

The U.S. Government can play a major role in the development of the technology, institutions and regulatory environment for global communications in the future. Truly sophisticated policies would try to accommodate many types of national media systems and structures while working for the long-term U.S. interest in an open and pluralistic world communications system. While disputes may continue with countries that have adopted a Soviet-style communications system, the vast majority of Third World countries (whose media systems are still searching for their role) might respond to such a U.S. stance.

The world is in the midst of a communications revolution which promises unprecedented communications abundance. When the task at hand is one of parcelling out new communications "bounty" in an equitable way, prospects for cooperation and understanding are a good deal brighter than when nations compete for a static or shrinking resource (as may be the case with energy and raw materials).

Thus, communications technology--whose productivity is increasing dramatically as costs fall--may represent a major lever for fostering cooperation in a world where other basic commodities (such as energy, food and raw materials) are increasingly scarce and costly. Fortunately, there are indications of how the advantage created by the communications revolution might be exploited.

In the early days, UNESCO and the bi-lateral AID programs concentrated on communications infrastructure rather than upon specific content. It has been the more recent trend in UNESCO toward involvement with content (and defining "appropriate" content) that has upset the U.S. the most. With new communication infrastructures in the offing which will unite computers, satellites and local transmissions into systems of unprecedented productivity, the time may be at hand for the emphasis in assistance to shift back from specific contents to the building of infrastructures.

Of course, there is now a much more sophisticated understanding of the term infrastructure than there was 20 years ago. Human, institutional and financial infrastructures are crucial components without which new communications technology cannot be used to their full potential. And it is the building of infrastructures in this comprehensive sense that may allow for transcending the heated disputes caused by consideration of "offensive messages" or of "imbalanced flows."

Many American spokesmen balk at the UNESCO language "free and balanced flow" even while they concede the reality of international imbalance in the ability to communicate. This is motivated out of a genuine concern regarding who could determine objectively when a flow has achieved "balance." Americans would hold that a flow which has been "balanced" cannot remain "free." Still, actions can be taken to reduce the imbalances in the ability to communicate. Movement in that direction might make the issue of precise "balance" less interesting to all parties.

There are recent examples of cooperation with the developing world which indicate how U.S. official commitments to assist the Third World in communications might be met. The first of them was contained in President Carter's speech before the Indian Parliament early this year:

The silent void of space may seem remote from these challenges (of development). But the intricate electronics of a space satellite can be as useful to earthbound farmers as a new plow.

The Indian and American governments will tomorrow exchange diplomatic notes confirming that the United States will program its Landsat earth resources satellite to transmit data directly--Applause--to a ground receiving station that India will own and operate.

This satellite service will provide India with comprehensive topographic and minerals information and timely data on the ever-changing condition of weather, agricultural, water, and other natural resources. Under the terms of the agreement, India will make available to the neighboring countries any information that affects them.

Also, India has already reserved space on board the American space shuttle in 1981 to initiate a domestic communications satellite system, using a satellite designed to Indian specifications.

We are very pleased that our space technology, together with India's superb space communications capability, will serve the cause of practical progress in your country.²

The activities referred to reflect Indian needs and build upon a record of technical cooperation between the U.S. and India which have survived political misunderstandings between the two nations. NASA's ATS-6 satellite was loaned to India for the SITE project from August 1975

through July 1976, a period which overlapped with the declaration of emergency in India. The Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE), was a massive achievement on India's part and a case in technical cooperation which deserves further study. Except for the satellite itself, the entire infrastructure for the effort (in the broadest sense) was Indian. While other Third World countries may lack the trained people which India enjoys, similarly cooperative projects could be devised which suit today's atmosphere.

This poses the issue of U.S. assistance rather well. By sharing technology, facilitating access to it, helping developing countries in their attempts to choose, install, operate and maintain modern communication equipment, the U.S. government can do much to relieve the sense of dependence on First World communications that now frustrates leaders in many areas. But, as UNESCO and related debates indicate, the real problem is not hardware but software, the need for competence to produce and distribute content, and to decide how to use limited communication resources in the face of so many societal needs and demands. In the case of India, the cooperative link between American technology and Indian "software" was a success.

The question then is how the U.S. Government can give technical assistance and cooperation to meet the need for communications content--from balanced news flow, to development communication of all types, to cultural and entertainment programming. This is a considerable cross-cultural task which most American communications specialists are not well-equipped to tackle. And Government involvement raises problems of political sensitivities for both sides.

Two points can be made relating these ideas to the logic of ICA activities. First, the ICA in-country team might, with the increased specific country competence mentioned earlier, look on themselves still more as communication counselors prepared to help the developing country in choosing and obtaining content from U.S. sources that fit the local need. This would be a different conception of mission from that of being the experts in getting programming placed that has been designed in Washington to meet American priorities in transmitting information and "telling America's story."

The second might be labeled a degree of ideological dialogue. For all the problems the Third World has in developing public policy in communication to fit their circumstances, and for all their criticism of the onslaught of media that is poured on them from the First World, there is a widespread respect for the intended--if not always apparent--American ideology in presenting news and information: to seek out the

truth, pleasant or not, and provide it to an informed citizenry. There is the ethic of responsible journalism, the best tradition of the fourth estate. The Voice of America reinforces this idea. Much of the problem in today's dialogue on new information order involves a confusion of conflicting self-misperceptions. Americans see their own best tradition supporting free flow of news and information, not perceiving (as their critics do) the questionable quality of much exported media. In turn, those concerned with communication in the Third World see the purity of their motives in gaining access to and control over a more balanced flow, while overlooking the real abuses of communication control that can be seen from the outside. In short, ICA might go still further in leading the dialogue on the social ends to be served by the free flow of objective news and information.

U.S. Government Exchange Programs

Future activities in all of the above areas would benefit from the mutual understanding which expanded exchanges of communicators could generate. While there are now several U.S. exchange and training programs in the field, they concentrate upon journalists and broadcast producers. However, a broader range of communications professionals should be included. In addition to the journalist, editor and publisher, analogous people from broadcasting and telecommunications should be involved. Various government ministries (including information, planning, health, agriculture and education) have communications functions, and deserve to be involved. Of course, mutual understanding will call for involvement of a correspondingly broad range of American communicators: government policymakers and program directors, non-profit sector representatives and communications industry representatives. Clearly, each type has a different perspective on the world "information order" and a different role to play in a dialogue, and in the building of cooperative relationships. Still, one specific instance which as occurred recently may shed some light upon what types of activities may be appropriate.

Two recent conferences on international communications (assisted by government exchange program funding) that were initiated by the Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy of the Fletcher School at Tufts University are examples of more organized approaches to bring communicators together in an atmosphere in which positions can be explored and a degree of understanding of the other's problems and context can be gained.

One subject of controversy at Cairo was the mention by Mr. Adelfa, head of the Nigerian News Agency, of his government's newly decreed

monopoly on all news leaving the country. Western journalists asked whether this meant that they would be excluded. Mr. Adelfa stated it was unclear how the new law would be interpreted. The formal conference session ended with a degree of tension in the air. However, during one of the informal breaks in the conference, Mr. Adelfa spoke with Stan Swinton, of the Associated Press. The two men developed a rapport as professional journalists and vowed to stay in touch. Since then, an agreement has been worked out involving exchanges of personnel between the two agencies. Nigerian journalists have worked in AP bureaus in Philadelphia, Washington and New York. AP staffers have gone to Nigeria to share their experience in technical and managerial aspects of news agency operations and to learn about conditions in Nigeria. Although the issues of Western access to news in Nigeria may have to remain unresolved at the political level, it is encouraging that contacts at the professional level are expanding.

It is important to stress that this technical cooperation grew out of a cultural exchange activity (funded by the U.S. government, the Ford Foundation, the Middle East News Agency and others). This may give some indication of how cooperatively developed and funded exchange activities with a professional focus can help lead to technical cooperation. This keeps the dialogue going, while allowing controversial issues to work themselves out over time.

By the year 2000, the ways in which human beings communicate will be radically different than they are today. The coming technology promises opportunities for much more communications and for more highly targetted communications. The constraints of the mass media will lessen to a point where highly individualized interests can be served. Technologically, the opportunity for a wide variety of expression on a global scale seems to be ahead. A much less centralized, and more participatory, interactive type of communication should be possible, alongside the traditional one-sender-to-many-receivers mass media structure.

Realizing the potential of the coming communications technology for human and social development will call for dialogue and for a spirit of open-ended inquiry. American critics of authoritarian control of communications in the Third World and Third World critics of concentrated American private media ownership might agree that the impediments to participation and diversity in communications will not be technological, but political and institutional in nature. They might also agree that no currently existing system for organizing communications (private or public) seems up to the challenges posed by the emerging technology. It will be crucial that the ideals of

pluralism and diversity be represented (and adhered to by those who expound them) as countries and international bodies make key political determinations regarding the new technology. For these decisions must be seen as part of a larger and longer-term trend. As Zbigniew Brezezinski wrote in response to the UN debate on the new world "economic order":

The international system is changing from a system designed to promote interstate peace to a system also designed to promote interstate progress; from a system designed to make possible greater global economic productivity to a system also designed to enhance greater economic equity.

Changes of such historic proportions do not come about easily, nor can they be given in advance a precise definition. The process of transformation will necessarily involve protracted debates, clashing interests, and values. It is bound to be full of inconsistencies and paradoxes.³

Disputes over impediments to the "free flow" or the "balanced flow" of information should not overshadow the long-term opportunities afforded by technology. A new world "information order" allowing for pluralism, diversity of expression and for greater understanding on a global scale may be a real possibility.

However, advanced information technology could also prove to be one of the most powerful tools for cultural domination and social control in human history. Certainly, past revolutions in radio and television have failed to live up to lofty expectations of mass education and human advancement. As the world's leading technological innovator, America has a special responsibility to strive for equitable international, political, economic and institutional arrangements for new communications technology. For it is these factors that will determine whether the emerging world "information order" eases or inflames the transition now underway in the world economic and political structure.

FOOTNOTES

¹George Gerbner, Larry Gross, et al., "Cultural Indicators: Violence Profile No. 9," Journal of Communication 28, Summer 1978.

²U.S., President (Carter), "Remarks of the President Before the Parliament," Office of the White House Press Secretary, New Delhi, 2 January 1978, pp. 6-7.

³Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The Changing International System, and America's Role," New York Times, 15 October 1975, Sec. 4, p. 15.

APPENDIX I

CHRONOLOGY OF SELECTED EVENTS IN VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL FORA 1948 - 1983

This chronology demonstrates the progression, increasing frequency and inter-relatedness of important meetings involving the world "Information Order" in the major international fora: United Nations (UN); UNESCO; ITU and the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM).

- 1948
 - UN Conference on Freedom of Information (Geneva).
 - UN General Assembly adopts Universal Declaration of Human Rights (not legally binding). Article 19 affirms freedom of opinion and expression.
- 1955
 - Asian-African Conference (Bandung, Indonesia). Beginning of Non-Aligned Movement, initially composed of 29 nations.
- 1959
 - First General World Administrative Radio Conference (WARC).
 - UN Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) established to study problems arising from outer-space activities.
- 1966
 - UN General Assembly adopts International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Articles 19 and 20 reaffirm and expand rights of freedom of expression and opinion (legally binding).
- 1967
 - Outer Space Treaty adopted unanimously by UN General Assembly; basis for Outer Space law.
- 1969
 - Meeting of UN COPUOS debates on direct broadcast satellites (DBS) begin.
 - UN Ad Hoc Working Group on DBS formed by COPUOS to consider legal, technical and political aspects of DBS.
 - UNESCO Meeting of Experts on Mass Communications and Society (Montreal); First mention of "two-way" or "balance circulation" of news.
- 1970
 - 16th UNESCO General Conference; authorization to "help member states in the formulation of their communication policies."
 - 3rd Non-Aligned Summit (Lusaka, Zambia). Concern expressed regarding the sovereign rights of nations over their natural resources.
- 1971
 - Special WARC on Space Communication. Definition of broadcasting satellite services established; allocation of suitable frequency bands; principle of equal rights in the frequency band for radio space communication services established.
- 1972
 - UN General Assembly directs COPUOS to study matter of legal implications of remote sensing of the Earth.
 - USSR introduces resolution to UN General Assembly calling for elaboration of principles governing DBS; resolution approved 102:1; UNGA calls upon COPUOS to study and formulate principles to govern DBS.

- USSR introduces resolution to UN General Assembly calling for elaboration of principles governing DBS; resolution approved; US lone "nay vote." UN General Assembly calls upon COPUOS to study and formulate principles to govern DBS.
- 17th UNESCO General Conference (Paris). USSR calls for declaration of principles to govern DBS. Call for Director-General to formulate "fundamental principles governing the use of mass media with a view to strengthen peace and understanding and combating war propaganda, racialism and apartheid" (referred to as "mass media draft declaration").
- 1973 • USSR submits list of principles to regulate remote-sensing activities to the UN General Assembly.
- 4th Non-Aligned Summit (Algiers). First reference to "social and cultural imperialism" through communication and call for action in field of mass communications.
- 1974 • Three draft lists of principles governing remote-sensing of the Earth by satellite (US; Brazil-Argentina; USSR-France) submitted to COPUOS reflecting varying positions.
- (July) First draft of "mass media draft declaration" discussed at UNESCO Meeting of Non-governmental experts (Paris).
- 18th UNESCO General Conference (Paris). Resolution submitted for practical action to strengthen and expand communication capabilities in the third world to help correct imbalances. "Mass media draft declaration" tabled for further consideration.
- Special WARC on Maritime Services. "First-come/first-serve" principle given no precedence for the first time.
- 1975 • (January) TANJUG begins Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool transmission.
- (February) Second Ad Hoc Working Group on DBS set up by COPUOS to elaborate principles governing DBS.
- (August) 5th Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Nations (Lima). Resolution to support New Agencies Pool.
- (August) Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe approved (Helsinki). Basket III contains articles pertaining to information exchange and human contacts in recognition of the need for mutual exchange of information among people.
- 1976 • (March) Non-Aligned Symposium on Information (Tunis).
- (May) In speech before UNCTAD Meeting (Nairobi) Secretary of State Kissinger offers assistance in developing third world communications capabilities.
- (July) UNESCO Meeting of Inter-Governmental Experts meets (Paris). "Mass media draft declaration" approved and placed on agenda of 19th UNESCO General Conference.

- (July) UNESCO-sponsored Inter-Governmental Conference on Communications Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean meets (Costa Rica). Controversies over "one-way flow;" call for "balanced flow" and regional news agencies.
 - (July) Ministerial Conference of Non-Aligned Nations (New Delhi). Coordinating Committee formed to improve methods and communications facilities for non-aligned nations.
 - (July) First session of Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool Coordinating Committee (New Delhi). New Delhi Declaration adopted. Committee of experts formed to study telecommunications facilities and the possibility of cooperation in the field of satellite and space communication.
 - (August) 5th Non-Aligned Summit (Colombo, Sri Lanka). Declaration of New Delhi Ministerial Conference endorsed. Formal ratification of News Agencies Pool Constitution. Resolution adopted calling for a "new international information order" as vital to a "new international economic order."
 - 19th UNESCO General Conference (Nairobi). US pledges to assist Third World nations in developing their mass media capabilities and to develop programs to improve third world communications capabilities. Support for assistance to Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool approved. Decision on "mass media draft declaration" deferred.
 - Agreement reached in Legal Subcommittee of COPUOS on several draft principles on DBS though continuing debate over relationship between sending and receiving state.
- 1977
- (January) Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool Coordinating Committee meets (Cairo). UNESCO participates as an observer.
 - (January-February) First meeting of Inter-Governmental Coordinating Council on Information and Mass Media of Non-Aligned Countries (Tunis).
 - (February) Special WARC on Direct Broadcast Satellites in the GHz band (Geneva). Orbit plan for domestic satellite TV adopted for Europe, Asia and Africa.
 - (April) UNESCO International Colloquium of Journalists (Florence). Discussion of "one-way flow."
 - (October) First Conference of Radio and Television Organizations of Non-Aligned Nations (Sarajevo, Yugoslavia). Equal access and equitable distribution of technology stressed as prerequisites for a balanced flow of information.
 - (December) First meeting of International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems (Paris)(16-member non-governmental Commission headed by Sean MacBride). Purpose: to help resolve outstanding "information order" issues.

- 1978
 - (February-March) Special WARC revises frequency distribution plan for aeronautical mobile service.
 - (April) Coordinating Committee meeting of Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool (Jakarta). Discussion of regional distribution centers, communication training programs and definition of news to conform to needs of developing countries. UNESCO participates and offers assistance.
 - (April) Inter-Governmental Conference for the Coordination of Information of the Non-Aligned Movement meets (Havana) to organize and disseminate non-aligned positions.
 - (April) Representatives of major news agencies and their Third World counterparts meet (Stockholm) to discuss infrastructure of news suppliers. Conflict between concepts of "free flow" of information and national sovereignty. Meeting sponsored by UNESCO International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems.
 - (July) Meeting of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Nations (Belgrade). Definition of non-aligned questioned. Cuba challenged as a non-aligned nation.
 - (August-September) UNDP Conference on Technical Cooperation Among Developing Countries (TCDC) (Buenos Aires).
 - 20th UNESCO General Conference to be held (Paris).
- 1979
 - (mid-year) Report due to UNESCO Director-General of the International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems.
 - (September) 6th Non-Aligned Summit to be held (Havana).
 - (October-November) Comprehensive WARC to be held (Geneva). Will review and revise ITU charter and all international radio regulations, structuring global communications well into the next century.
 - UN Conference on Science and Technology to be held.
- 1980
 - UN Conference on Satellites to be held.
- 1983
 - WARC Regional Western Hemisphere meeting on satellite broadcasting to be held.

APPENDIX II

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS DEALING WITH COMMUNICATION-RELATED ISSUES

As communication issues have become a matter of world-wide concern the number of non-governmental and intergovernmental organizations dealing with these issues has grown significantly. These organizations have increasingly been the scene of debates over the world information order. The linkages between these various bodies, with their diverse functions, and the major fora forms a complex and often indiscernible pattern. In many cases, issues are discussed in much detail in international fora before they reach national policy-making arenas.

These organizations influence the world information order through their various types of endeavor: gathering and disseminating of information, assistance to governmental bodies as advisors and consultants, journals and other publications conferences and seminars, and education/training programs.

By generating dialogue these organizations influence agendas for discussion at more official international fora like the UN, UNESCO, and ITU. Through their members' consultation to governments, they also influence national decisions and policy formation. A complete list of the broad-based organizations would be beyond the scope of this paper. A brief annotated list follows containing a few of the more important groups:

Inter-American Press Association (IAPA) 1942

With its headquarters in Miami, Florida, the IAPA now has 1,000 member newspapers in North and South America. The association sponsors scholarships for journalists and students of journalism, and also maintains a technical center for information dissemination. IAPA is a strong advocate of press freedom and has been its expounder in such international fora like UNESCO.

International Association for Mass Communication Research 1957

It works closely with UNESCO and is composed of individual and organizational members in over 46 countries. It provides an arena for those engaged in debate and discussion of mass communication, especially as it relates to political, economic, and cultural issues.

International Catholic Association for Radio and Television (UNDA) 1928

UNDA is composed of national Catholic Associations in 106 countries, and 11 international associations. UNDA is interested in developing Third World media, in training for communication professions, and ensuring the most effective use of religious broadcasting. Publications: UNDA Documentation and the Wide World of UNDA

International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) 1946

The 150,000 members of IOJ represent national organizations, groups, committees, and individuals from 109 countries. IOJ maintains a training institute for journalists in Budapest, and expresses socialist points of view influenced heavily by Eastern European involvement. Publications: The Democratic Journalist, Journalist Affairs, Interpressgrafik

International Press Institute (IPI) 1951

Nearly 1900 members from 63 countries are associated with IPI. It is dedicated to supporting the standards of press freedom; and to promoting exchange and cooperation. It sponsors international conferences and conducts research projects. Publications: IPI Report, Annual Report

World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) 1968

WACC activities are shared by corporate and individual members in 6 regions representing 60 countries: Africa, Asia-Pacific, Europe, Latin America-Caribbean, Middle East, and North America. WACC is ecumenical and is involved in a variety of communication projects at the advisory and fund-raising level. Publications: ACTION Newsletter, WACC Journal

Asian Mass Communication Research And Information Center (AMIC) 1971

As a regional clearinghouse on communication, AMIC works closely with UNESCO. It is sponsored jointly by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Singapore Government. AMIC is trying to bridge the information

gap at various levels: by collecting and distributing materials, by maintaining a specialized library, by conducting training seminars; and by opening its membership to anyone interested in communication. Publications: Media Asia, AMIC Documentation List, Asian Mass Communication Bulletin, AMIC Index of Periodicals, Asian Mass Communication Institutions: a Directory

Press Foundation of Asia 1967

With the support of over 200 Asian editors and newspapermen, the Foundation is responsible for the concept of development journalism aimed at raising journalism standards. It has conducted studies and training programs and established Depthnews as a specialized news features agency. It also started an information source bank in 1972. Publications: Data Asia, Data File, Media Magazine, Asian Press and Media Directory

International Institute of Communication (IIC) 1969

Membership of over 700 firms and institutions, individuals, and businesses in 70 countries. IIC represents a wide variety of Western and Third World countries. Its main purpose is to facilitate the linkage between technology, research, and policy. Publication: INTERMEDIA

The following organizations are interested in professional standards and development of the media. The United States is a member of the three federations.

International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) 1952; composed of 24 National Unions in 24 countries.

International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ) 1948: composed of national newspaper organizations in 30 countries.

International Federation of the Periodical Press 1925; membership in 23 countries responsible for 22,000 periodicals.

The following are regional media unions:

Commonwealth Press Union (CPU) 1909); composed of publishers and newspaper owners who promote press freedom, telecommunication development, and journalist training.

Commonwealth Broadcasting Association (CBA) 1945; Composed of 45 national broadcasting organizations in 42 Commonwealth countries that are striving for cooperation and the appropriate development of broadcasting.

European Broadcasting Union (EBU) 1950; Composed of 105 members in 75 countries. The EBU conducts research and development projects for every aspect of broadcasting; It also promotes exchange of programs (EUROVISION) and information. Publication: EBU Review.

International Radio and Television Organization (OIRT) 1946; Its 25 members are broadcasting services from Europe, Asia and Latin America...Its goals are similar to those of the EBU; stressing cooperation and exchange. Its television exchange system is called INTERVISION. Publications: Radio and Television, OIRT Information

Caribbean Broadcasting Union (CBU); The 27 radio and television stations in 13 Commonwealth Caribbean countries provide advice for communication development as well as review international regulations and debates concerning information. CBU also produces radio programs which are of regional interest.

Publication: CBU Newsletter

Inter-American Association of Broadcasters (IAAB) 1946; Its membership encompasses both North and South American private radio and television companies and radio and television broadcasting associations. IAAB acts on behalf of broadcasting interests on the national, regional, and international levels. It also conducts conferences which serve to educate broadcasting personnel.

Publications: Bulletin and monographs

Union of National Radio and Television Organizations of Africa (URTNA) 1962; Its goals are reflections of the needs of its member states to develop their communication capacities. The radio and television organizations in Africa promote cooperation and protect African Culture.

Asian Broadcasting Union (ABU) 1964; The Asian and Pacific region covered by this union is a diverse mixture of cultures and ideologies, geographically separated by huge expanses of sea and land. The ABU attempts to foster cooperation and understand through various media channels. Publications: ABU Newsletter, ABU Technical Review

One inter-governmental organization deserves some mention since it is often held up as a model of international cooperation, and has largely achieved its relatively specific objectives:

International Telecommunications Satellite Organization (INTELSAT) 1964

Membership in INTELSAT is 95, all from the International Telecommunication Union. Its objective is to continue to carry forward on a definitive basis the design, development, construction, establishment, operation and maintenance of the space segment of the global commercial telecommunications satellite system. Telephone, data, and television links are provided internationally. Several countries are using INTELSAT satellites for domestic communication. While INTELSAT, with its burgeoning technical role, has been relatively immune from ideological debate, questions are beginning to be raised by Third World members anxious to obtain the greatest benefit from the system for their development.

A more elaborate description and complete coverage of international organizations can be found in the Aspen Handbook on the Media 1977-79 Edition, which was also the main source for this section.

APPENDIX III

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, 1955-1972

In the aftermath of the Korean War and the first set of Geneva agreements on Vietnam, five Asian Prime Ministers*, concerned with preventing their countries from becoming battlegrounds between the East and West, met in Colombo in April 1954. Through collective action they hoped to protect their national sovereignty. "The advocates of non-alignment were trying to develop an ideology which would enable them to remain independent in the event of an ideological and military war between the two power blocs."¹ Another aim was more ambitious: "The non-aligned movement began as a broad anti-imperialist movement, seeking to bring about world peace by exhorting the nuclear powers to avoid a nuclear holocaust."²

After meeting for a second time in Bogor, Indonesia on December 29, 1954 the five prime ministers issued a communique calling for a conference with the following objectives: ". . .to promote goodwill and cooperation among nations of Asia and Africa, to consider economic, social and cultural problems and relations, as well as problems of special interest to them, including racism and colonialism; and to consider what contribution they can make to the promotion of world peace and understanding."³ Bandung, Indonesia was chosen as the location of the conference. The five sponsoring countries were Sri Lanka, India, Indonesia, Burma and Pakistan.

Twenty-nine countries attended. Pointing to colonialism as a means of cultural suppression, they discussed ways by which their peoples could achieve the fullest economic, political and cultural cooperation.

It is said that the roots of the non-aligned movement can be traced

*The five Prime Ministers were: Sir John Kotelawala of Sri Lanka (independent since 1948); U Nu of Burma (1948); Jawaharlal Nehru of India (1947); Mohammad Ali of Pakistan (1947) and Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia (1949).

to Bandung. -- but even in Sukarno's opening address he looked back to the 1927 Congress of Oppressed Nationalities in Brussels for the birth of the movement. The ideal of the movement can also be found in the liberation struggles in Africa and Asia. Pan Africanism, Pan Asianism and Pan Arabism developed as ideologies to combat cultural domination and foster self-reliance. Proponents of these theories were trying to unite continents which had been "carved up" into Western-style nations with little regard for cultural and ethnic heritage. These philosophies were attempts to unite the fragments. After Bandung, a new wave of independence swept quickly through the continents of Asia and Africa, providing new members for the movement.

At the 1957 Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference in Cairo, the principles of Bandung were echoed. The conference maintained that ". . .the existence of colonialism in many parts of Asia and Africa hinders cultural cooperation and suppresses national culture" and urged "the African and Asian nations to preserve their cultural heritage."⁴

In 1961, the first Conference (Summit) of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries was held in Belgrade. Twenty-five countries attended, with three Latin American observers: Brazil, Bolivia, and Ecuador. Fearing that the Cold War might flair into open hostilities, these countries met to exchange views on peace and security, and to convey their belief in world progress through cooperation. The principle of self-determination was reaffirmed as the basic means to obtain economic, social and cultural development without the loss of integrity. The final declaration was sent to the United Nations and to interested governments.

Ten months later in 1962, Cairo hosted the Conference on the Problems of Economic Development (July 9-18). Eleven countries sponsored it, 31 participated, five observed (Chile, Ecuador, Singapore, Uruguay and Venezuela), and several international organizations observed: UN, FAO, IMF, IBRD, League of Arab States, Organization of Afro-Asian Economic Cooperation. The conference confirmed the non-aligned belief in cooperation and proposed the application of sovereign rights over natural resources. In December of

that same year, the UN General Assembly echoed that latter concern in passing a resolution entitled "Permanent Sovereignty over National Resources."

In 1964, the second Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-aligned Countries was held in Cairo. The Conference declaration, "Program for Peace and International Cooperation," was supported by the 42 member countries and the eleven observer nations. Foreign interference in the internal affairs of developing countries was deemed a threat to peace and security. (The crisis in the Congo was not far from the front pages of world news at the time.) The Conference reaffirmed the right of self-determination and the belief in the principle of peaceful co-existence. The declaration strongly opposed apartheid, colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, nuclear weapon proliferation and the threat and/or use of force. It recognized the importance of culture and stressed the mutual appreciation of different value structures especially within divided territories.

Forty-four countries met in Belgrade in 1969 in a consultative meeting of special government representatives to discuss possible ways of strengthening cooperation among the non-aligned. The need for a coherent non-aligned policy that would reflect the world situation was evident and became a goal. In September 1969, the ministers of foreign affairs of the non-aligned countries met during the 24th session of the UN General Assembly to discuss a preliminary conference prior to the next Heads of State Summit. The Preparatory Conference was held in Dar-es-Salaam in 1970. The 51 member countries, eight observers and five liberation movements dealt with the Summit agenda and set up a 16-member coordinating committee. The Summit convened in Lusaka in 1970 with 53 nations, 12 observer countries and five national liberation movements in attendance.

Non-aligned policy was seen in terms of peace and security; national independence and sovereignty; equality; self-determination; economic development and strengthening of the United Nations. The Conference specifically asked the US, Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Switzerland and

Japan to end their assistance to colonial and racist regimes. By perpetuating the status quo, the developed nations were seen as maintaining their own economic supremacy.

In preparation for the 26th Session of the UN General Assembly and for the next ministerial meeting, a Ministerial Consultative Meeting was held in New York City at UN Headquarters in September 1971. The Lusaka Declarations were approved and a probable agenda was discussed for the next ministerial meeting, which was held in August 1972 in Georgetown, Guyana under the title of the 1972 Conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Non-aligned Countries. The 59 member nations, 11 observer countries and nine guests examined international developments since the Third Summit in Lusaka and supported the validity of the Lusaka Declarations. They saw a multi-polar system developing; noted the growth of interdependence; reaffirmed self-reliance and sovereignty over resources; and cautioned against outside intervention.

FOOTNOTES

¹A. W. Singham, "The World Capitalist System and The Non-aligned Movement," From Bandung to Colombo, A. W. Singham and Tran Van Dinh, eds. (New York: Third Press Review, 1976), p. 207.

²Ibid., p. 213.

³Tran Van Dinh, "Non-aligned But Committed to the Hilt," From Bandung to Colombo, A. W. Singham and Tran Van Dinh, eds. (New York: Third Press Review, 1976), p. 195.

⁴Tran Van Dinh, "Non-alignment and Cultural Imperialism," The Black Scholar, December 1976, pp. 41-42.

APPENDIX IV

GUIDE to MAJOR INFORMATION SOURCES on COMMUNICATIONS in the WASHINGTON AREA

During the course of our research for the "World Information Order" study we discovered that a wealth of information sources for this topic are located in Washington, D.C. In fact, it seemed at times that there was too much available material and too little time to investigate it all. For these reasons we felt that it would be worthwhile to provide some brief hints and guidelines on how to better utilize the great resources that Washington offers. We hope that this would save prospective researchers valuable time and direct them to some useful sources. In particular, this memo is for those interested readers who might wish to do more in-depth research on the issues brought up by our study.

Probably the greatest store of information in Washington is the Library of Congress. Besides the many books on international communication which can be obtained in the Main Reading Room and Law Library, the Library of Congress serves as a depository for United Nations documents.

The Current Newspapers and Periodicals Room located in the Jefferson Annex of the Library of Congress is extremely useful in that virtually all serials from around the world are available there. (For our study, we felt it necessary to read articles on the information debates contained in Third World and East bloc periodicals). Current or recent United Nations and UNESCO documents should be requested in the same room. Difficulties might be encountered in locating U.N. documents

Guide to Major Information Sources on Communications in the Washington Area

because of their great volume and filing irregularities. A gentleman who would be able to help with problems concerning documents is Mr. Robert Schaaf (462-5534). It is almost essential to have a specific reference when seeking a document, otherwise it is a very time-consuming task to locate it.

Two individuals who work as foreign affairs analysts in the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress who might be helpful are Marjorie Browne (202/426-6003), who is keeping an up-to-date file on the world information debates; and Joel Woldman, author of a paper on the upcoming World Administrative Radio Conference.

The numerous university libraries in Washington are also very good and might be more attractive to those who wish to avoid the hugeness of the Library of Congress resources. In particular we recommend the Periodical Room in Georgetown University's library. American University's library has a good selection of books and periodicals on communications.

The American Society of International Law's library at 2223 Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest (202/265-4313) proved to be very fruitful as a source of information on satellites. The collection contains an excellent selection of journals, articles, and books which provide valuable background information on the political and legal implications of direct broadcasting and remote-sensing from satellites.

Guide to Major Information Sources on Communications in the Washington Area

Located in the Congressional Quarterly Building at 1414 22nd Street, Northwest, in the headquarters of the Academy for Educational Development is the Clearinghouse on Development Communication (202/862-1915).

Although the Clearinghouse's collection of materials deals mostly with the application of communications technology for educational development, it also contains numerous specialized communication periodicals and books. The material amassed for the World Information Order study is also at the AED office. These may be used if you speak with Mr. Jonathan Gunter or his secretary Ms. Patt Harvey (862-1900).

The United Nations Information Office at 2101 L Street, N.W., (202/296-5370), although it does not have a complete collection of UN documents, has many useful documents concerning remote sensing and direct broadcast satellites. UN documents may be ordered through this office.

Information can also be requested from the various embassies in Washington, D.C. In most cases, however, the embassies will not have specific documents available and will refer inquiries to other sources, usually in home countries. Exceptions, of course, are embassies which have libraries or information offices.

Other more specialized libraries and organizations in the Washington area where material on the World Information Order may be found are:

The African Bibliographic Center/Washington
Task force on African Affairs
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
--Dan & Linda Mathews 223-1392 (202)

They produce "Habari" (659-2529)--a daily African news report.

Guide to Major Information Sources on Communications in the Washington Area

U.S. Federal Communications Commission Library
1919 M Street, Northwest
Room #369
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 632-7100'

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International Telecommunications Satellite Organization (INTELSAT)
490 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024
(202) 488-2300

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Communications Satellite Corporation (COMSAT) Library
950 L'Enfant Plaza South, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024
(202) 554-6658

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APPENDIX V: AID/W ACTIVITIES IN COMMUNICATIONS

(From the Annual Budget Submission of the Education Office of AID's Development Support Bureau for Fiscal Year 1980, pages 52-59, prepared May, 1978).

- Narrative for Educational Technology - Systems for Increasing Access and Effectiveness

INTRODUCTION

Long Range Goal

Work in this division is directed toward helping to increase access to basic education and information and, simultaneously, to improving the effectiveness, efficiency, and usefulness of the educational experience.

Major Objectives and Approaches

The great potential of modern educational media and methods for bringing education and information to people is beginning to be realized. It is the intention of our work to help the Agency utilize this potential in restructuring the provision of basic educational services.

The objectives of this division are to:

- 1.) make available to LDCs and USAID the expertise needed for planning and evaluating major program efforts using the educational technologies;
- 2.) develop and test, in field settings, systems making effective use of the educational technologies in key development problem areas;
- 3.) provide information and analysis for policy makers and LDC program managers on the strategic options represented by educational technology, as well as their costs, their effectiveness, and their requirements;
- 4.) facilitate the training of, and linkages among, planners and practitioners in this field throughout the world.

In meeting these objectives, we are concerned with three interrelated elements:

- 1.) improved means of delivering information;
- 2.) improved techniques for programming that information to be educationally effective;
- 3.) organization of these media and techniques into systems integral to the delivery of social services.

Delivery Systems: A Focus on Radio

We continue to concentrate major attention on making more effective use of

radio as a key information delivery mechanism, often supported by other media.

The reasons for this major focus on radio are several. For formal education, it is responsive to the problems inherent in the wide dispersion of small rural schools having poorly trained teachers, if any. Instructional radio can provide an inexpensive way to bring more effective teaching methods and reformed curricula to large numbers of classrooms. It thus can fill widely felt needs for bringing new curriculum content rapidly into use while at the same time improving the effectiveness of education.

While classroom television also has been used for these purposes, radio may be more suitable from the standpoint of cost and complexity for many of the countries A.I.D. is now serving.

In terms of reaching mass audiences of adults with information germane to their health or agricultural productivity, radio is in many LDCs the predominant information medium reaching reasonable percentages of the rural population. In Latin America, coverage is almost complete. It is growing rapidly in other parts of the LDC world.

Thus, in both formal and out-of-school efforts, radio has significant potential advantages. Our strategy has been to increase the attention paid to radio by educational planners through demonstrating that it can be used effectively for significant objectives. We continue to fund R&D designed to increase that effectiveness in LDC settings and we continue to support applications in a number of key development sectors.

Programming Strategies and Methods

The major progress that has been made in the use of instructional technology has come about partly as a result of more powerful programming strategies and methodologies. In formal instruction, mass media adaptations of certain programmed instruction principles have been at the heart of most of the successful projects - for example, pretesting and formative evaluation methods, requirements for active student responding, rapid feedback of results, and mastery learning. In the use of mass media for motivating and teaching changes in practices, many of the same techniques have been used, as well as those derived from advertising media, from behavioral psychology, and from the important community of creative media producers, who know how to interest a learner as well as how to teach him. It is the ability to combine these intellectual resources into methods for educational program development that is the basis of the instructional potential of the educational technologies. We have put much of this Division's resources into the development of these instructional methods. To a large degree, they can be used with many different media - radio, television, cassettes, graphic materials, and face-to-face teaching.

Systems Planning

The development of more powerful instructional methods and more accessible delivery systems attain importance only as they are put into wide-scale use in LDCs. To facilitate such adoption, a systems approach to educational planning has become an essential element of this program.

The importance of systems planning is accentuated by the emphasis of this division on using educational technology as a catalyst and instrument for supporting new educational strategies, thereby requiring changes other than simply the adoption of a new educational medium. In this connection, appreciable experience has been gained through long association with LDCs now using educational technology in restructured educational systems - - e.g., the Ivory Coast, where half-a million primary school students are being reached, El Salvador with over 100,000 students, and Korea, much of whose primary and middle school population will soon be using an educational technology based system. These experiences have demonstrated the effectiveness of very carefully integrating the role of the instructional media with the role of the classroom teacher, other instructional materials, and local patterns of educational administration.

The ultimate test of the work of this division, then, is whether it facilitates the implementation of local educational delivery systems having improved effectiveness, access, or efficiency. An integral part of the Division's program is therefore aimed at providing a flow of information and expertise to LDC planners and policy makers particularly information on the strategic implications of these approaches for educational development.

The program in the Division of Educational Technology has three focal areas: (1) the provision of mechanisms for supporting the field in planning projects using the methods and media of educational technology; (2) R&D on new strategies for increasing primary school access and effectiveness; (3) R&D on methods for meeting essential information needs of adult populations in other sectors, such as nutrition, health, and agriculture.

Alternatives

In order to achieve our objectives, we believe it is reasonable to continue to develop improved systems through R&D and to provide to the field an array of expert planning and information services. One alternative would be to direct more of our efforts toward creating regional centers of expertise in the developing world to eventually carry out these functions. That alternative was not supported by the Regional Bureaus in 1976, due both to bureaucratic difficulties and to cautions about the long-term viability of regional entities.

Accomplishments

The earliest work of this Division contributed heavily to the concept of the intensive systematic use of classroom broadcasting as a catalyst for in-school educational reform through its planning of the El Salvador educational reform project and its contribution to the planning of reformed national educational systems in Korea and the Ivory Coast, all of which use television as a core instructional medium.

More recently, the Division has been active in a resurgence of interest in classroom radio as a method of increasing educational access and improving quality at low cost, with support for that approach now coming from a number of quarters, including World Bank planners and LDCs such as the Philippines and Nicaragua.

Study of the economics of educational technology and of empirical field evaluation of learning results both have received much of their impetus from our support and are now thriving (C.F., a series of major UNESCO conferences on the subject based largely on data and methods generated from our projects.)

Two U.S. 211 (d) centers have coalesced interest in this field and have trained numerous LDC leaders.

Small-scale efforts in the use of satellites for educational purposes have made contributions to the experiments to date, such as those in India and recently at the University of the West Indies, and are forming a basis for a possible expanded Agency initiative.

The work in supporting other sectors which require information services for rural people is leading to progress in the use of mass media in areas such as nutrition education and preventive health. It has also supported the design of Mission rural information projects, such as the Development Communications Center projects in Pakistan and Egypt. This effort to facilitate work in other sectors is becoming an increasingly important part of the Agency's program.

Relation to Regional Bureau Activities

There are a variety of mechanisms for providing support for, and coordination with, the work at the RBs in this field. With Latin America, there has been recent agreement to work together with LA/DR in its own increasing emphasis on the educational uses of radio. There is to be both joint strategy writing and joint sponsored field seminars, designed to introduce to the field effective models such as LA's Basic Village Education Program and our Radio Math Program. We are also collaborating very closely in LA's activities in nutrition education, providing expertise for planning, evaluation, and field seminars through our contracts and direct-hire staff. Because of LA's history of innovative work in educational technology, there are several other areas of interface and cooperation as well.

With the other RB's, the most important form of support comes from our support of field project planning and in the conduct of state-of-the-art seminars. For example, we have worked with the Asia Bureau in planning projects now getting underway in Nepal (radio teacher training) and Pakistan (rural development communications). In Africa, we've recently held well received national seminars in Liberia and Sierra Leone. Of special importance may be the continuing assistance being provided on communications planning to the Sahel Task Force, the next step being a regional planning survey in the summer of 1978. Numerous other consultations are described in the subsequent presentation on field service activities.

FIELD SERVICE ACTIVITIES

The field service activities of the Division are substantial and will continue with 1980 funding. A continuing project titled "Studies and Applications in Communications" has several components providing a series of service: planning teams of communications consultants to help plan projects; seminar/workshops in the field to explore communications applications to LDC problems in any sector; information on training opportunities in the relevant skills; instructional films and videotapes describing key LDC projects in this field; and support for pilot applications of communications in the field.

Another project, being restructured for FY '79, will continue to provide information services, as is now done for us by the Clearinghouse on Development Communications, which provides specialized information to the field, produces state-of-the-art summaries, develops profiles of key projects, and produces a substantive newsletter reaching 4,500 LDC officials.

Finally, DS/ED manages the services which permit field experimentation with NASA satellites, through a RSSA with NASA and specialized project planning and evaluation assistance. This has been a small part of the field assistance program to date, one that would increase if the Agency undertakes a broader satellite initiative.

The planning and consultation services, which are provided jointly by DS/ED staff and contract mechanisms, have been called upon the the last twelve months by sixteen Missions and regional entities; in Asia, USAID/Indonesia and the South Pacific desk; in Near East, USAID/Egypt, Yemen, and Qatar; in Africa, USAID/Ghana, C.A.E., Cameroon, Liberia and Sierra Leone, and quite substantially, the Sahel Task Force; in Latin America, Jamaica, Nicaragua, Haiti, Bolivia and Costa Rica. A great deal of effort has also gone into helping to develop responses to Presidential initiatives in the Caribbean and in Latin America.

These planning and consultation services have encompassed many communication applications in nutrition education, a few in health and agriculture and a number in formal and out-of-school education, with some attention being paid to integrated information services. The increasing call upon these services seems to be based on a slowly growing belief that new approaches to the use of communications, often generated by R&D programs, offer alternatives worth examining in a variety of A.I.D. programs.

R&D on Communications Application in the Education Sector

The office's work in education technology some years ago turned major attention to the development of classroom radio as an appropriate and potentially powerful medium for increasing the effectiveness and outreach of rural primary school education. We have concentrated on developing major radio-based curricular components which can be used by teachers who have relatively little training.

The most mature effort to date is one designed to create an entire primary school mathematics curriculum which is radio-based, utilizing in its programming the best that is known about making instruction both interesting and efficient. The R&D site has been rural Nicaragua, with the results thus far extremely encouraging. Learning gains have been 30% to 60% greater than in the conventional classes, teachers and students alike appreciate the programs and the cost for going operational are low - under \$2.00 per student per year, with much of that cost returned through expected reductions in failure/repetition rates. The results of this project are beginning to diffuse; for example, Nicaragua is planning for national scale expansion and use of similar techniques in other subjects; the World Bank is promulgating the approach in its Philippine loans and elsewhere; and, great interest has been expressed by a number of African countries. In FY '80, we propose expanding our utilization activities related to this project to make training workshops and advisory assistance available to countries interested in utilizing the materials or methods.

We are about to expand the radio approach to another key area of the primary school curriculum, language skills (FY'78). As a result, we will be able to offer radio-based materials, techniques, and most important, informed experience in two core curriculum areas required for rural primary education, assuming progress in the language area.

We are looking into the use of radio in a third curriculum area, that of practical (or "life") skills. In FY '79, we intend to commission several studies which will inform an FY '80 project in this third area.

For some rural areas, conventional schools will not be available in the near future. If they were to be made available, the familiar problem of poor teaching in the more remote areas would remain. We are therefore structuring an FY '80 project to test a strategy which would permit communities to use their own resources for community schools to be supported by "distance teaching" using radio and print materials. While the prior activities are designed to develop components of a basic educational program, this is designed to develop an overall system appropriate for these remote communities.

R&D on Communications Applications in Health, Nutrition, Agriculture, and other Sectors

Within the past year, DS/ED has increased its work in the use of communications methods and media to support programs in other sectors. This effort

has been accelerated through a major contract with Stanford University, which is producing a policy study on the role of communications in A.I.D. programs in agriculture, education, health, nutrition, and family planning.

The close interactions that have begun with A.I.D. professionals in these fields have been encouraging in terms of laying a groundwork for future activities. It is now intended to continue this work during 1979 by amending the current contract for an additional year of collaborative work. During FY 79, several follow-on steps will be taken: the policy guidelines will be developed into new documents usable by field personnel, through summarizing state-of-the-art applications and through suggesting practical strategies for the development of project components; consultations with field missions will occur; and, in the process, continuing professional interaction will occur with AID/W officers in the several sectors.

By FY 80, continuing follow-up activities by this office will be called for in cooperation with some of these sectors, in addition to those now planned, although it is not yet possible to predict the most useful activities. What is clear is that important momentum has been generated by the work to date and in order to have a serious impact on A.I.D. programs, provisions should be made in the 1980 budget to carry out continuing supportive work.

Among the problem areas being analyzed with officers in each sector are the following (This is a very partial and illustrative list):

IN AGRICULTURE

- information "feed-forward" and feedback from farmers to the developers and providers of agricultural technology and services.
- expansion of the access and impact of extension systems through supportive use of mass media.
- improved rural administration through two-way communications (applicable to most other sectors as well).

IN FAMILY PLANNING

- communications strategies appropriate to varying levels of motivation with regard to family planning.

IN HEALTH AND NUTRITION

- use of mass media for motivating and teaching preventive health and nutritional practices to the general population.
- professional support for community health workers through two-way communications.
- communication support of the MEDEX system.

IN EDUCATION

- increasing access to basic rural schooling and improving its quality through instructional broadcasting.
- in-service teacher training through distance teaching.
- administrative support of school decentralization by two-way communication.
- support of non-formal education efforts through a variety of instructional media.

IN CROSS-SECTORAL ACTIVITIES

- exploration of the potential for facilitating inter-sectoral field collaboration through shared facilities and approaches.

SELECTED AID FIELD PROJECTS IN COMMUNICATIONS

EDUCATION AND HUMAN RESOURCES

RADIO MATHEMATICS

Nicaragua

TARGET AUDIENCE:	Primary-school children in Nicaragua
OBJECTIVE:	To develop a prototypical system for teaching elementary mathematics
MEDIA:	Radio, reinforced by classroom instruction and printed materials
DONORS/SPONSORS:	The Technical Assistance Bureau of the U.S. Agency for International Development; the Government of Nicaragua
DURATION:	Initiated in July of 1973; ongoing through June of 1979
CONTACTS:	Ms. Jamesine Friend, Apdos. 122, Masaya, Nicaragua; Dr. Barbara Searle, Institute for Mathematical Studies in the Social Sciences, Ventura Hall, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94505, U.S.A.

DESCRIPTION:

The Radio Mathematics Project is an attempt to design and broadcast elementary math lessons that hold children's interest. One part of the project is curriculum development. Another is the creation of a way to use performance data to revise and improve the lessons. A third is the analysis of the mathematical skills and concepts taught in the lessons. Underlying all three activities is the development of radio as an instructional medium.

The project began in July of 1973. Once the staff had selected the site, it prepared a detailed research plan and tested sample lessons in California schools. By mid-1974, the Nicaragua office was organized and was developing both achievement tests and procedures for the program. By 1975, 150 lessons were being used in 16 experimental classrooms. More than 85 first and second-grade classes were using the radio math lessons as of the summer of 1976.

Each radio math lesson consists of a 30-minute recorded portion and a post-broadcast portion conducted by the classroom teacher with the help of a two-to-three-page guide. A typical lesson consists of many discrete instructional and entertainment segments, all but a few of which require an average of four active responses (writing answers, responding aloud, singing) per minute from the student. The lessons rely on little direct explanation, cover many topics, and elicit several kinds of responses from the children. Post-broadcast activities take up at least 30 minutes and involve use of the blackboard. Until 1975, worksheets were also part of almost every lesson.

RESULTS:

A year-end achievement test given in 1975 showed that children in classes that used the radio math series scored 21 percent higher than their peers who studied math in a traditional learning environment. The second-year evaluation revealed an even greater disparity. First-graders performed 60 percent better than their counterparts in the control group, while second-graders had a 29 percent edge over their counterparts.

At the close of the 1975 school year, 73 percent of the participating teachers said that the children in the radio math program learned more than they would have in the conventional classroom. Ninety-two percent voiced the hope that the radio instruction program would continue.

With AID support, the *Radio Mathematics Project* has been extended through June 1979. Current efforts revolve around revising the curriculum, experimenting in the use of radio instruction without the worksheet component in order to cut costs, and extending the radio project to include students in higher grades.

OF NOTE:

- One lesson in the *Radio Mathematics* series was awarded the Japan Prize in the 11th bi-yearly International Educational Programme Contest, to which 92 organizations from around the world submitted entries.
- The *Radio Mathematics Project* was expanded at the behest of the Nicaraguan Ministry of Education to bring radio lessons to three different departments of the country.
- At least once a minute in every radio program, students are invited to respond actively to what they hear.
- Bottle caps and other locally available cost-free items are used in the classroom as counting aids.

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"Evaluation of The Radio Mathematics Project," Barbara Searle, Paul Matthews, Jamesine Friend, and Patrick Suppes, unpublished, October 1976.

Clearinghouse on Development Communication
June 1977

MALI LIVESTOCK II PROJECT

Mali

TARGET AUDIENCE:	Malian farmers and herders
OBJECTIVES:	To introduce conservation techniques and range-management practices and to improve breeding and production techniques in order to raise the nutritional and economic status of Malians and generate foreign exchange
MEDIA:	Radio, cassette tapes, audio-visual materials, and interpersonal communication
DONORS/SPONSORS:	Agency for International Development and the Government of the Republic of Mali
DURATION:	Preliminary phase begun in April 1977; ongoing through June 1979; 2nd phase planned for 1979-1981
CONTACTS:	Boubacar Sy, Director General, Office Malien du Betail et du Viande (OMBEVI), B.P. 1382, Bamako, Mali; Benedict Tisa, 45 Haddon Avenue, Westmont, NJ 08108, USA; Almouzar Maiga, Thurston F. Teele, or Philip W. Moeller, c/o Chemonics, International Consulting Division, 1120 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036; Robert Reeser, Bamako (ID), Department of State, Washington, D.C. 20520

DESCRIPTION:

Negotiations between the U.S. Agency for International Development and the Malian Government on the *Livestock II Project* got under way in drought-ridden Mali in early 1977. More than a relief effort, the project they designed was to provide a basis for self-sustaining agricultural development and to reduce the suffering associated with resettlement schemes. Its specific objectives are to promote the adoption of range-management, livestock-production, and agricultural practices that will increase productivity on existing croplands and enable Malians to farm land that is presently uncultivated. Its three fronts reflect three different but mutually reinforcing approaches to problems that the project designers feel are economic, social, and technological: it has (1) a program in the Dilly region that is concerned with developing, testing, and applying new techniques for dealing with dry lands and livestock problems; (2) a program and facilities in Bamako for training extension workers; and (3) in the southernmost region a "new lands" program focused on the development of underutilized lands (a chief feature of which is tset-se-fly control). At the moment, the project staff includes twelve long-term specialists and a variety of short-term consultants.

The training component of the *Livestock II Project* may eventually encompass programs for five different kinds of audiences: existing cadres of livestock extension workers, recent college-level graduates of the *Institut Polytechnique Rural* (IPR) in Katibougou, graduates of IPR's middle-level program in Bamako, graduates of the *Ecole des Infirmiers Veterinaires*, and eighth or ninth-graders from non-technical schools. The courses for these groups are designed to prepare enrollees to assume greater responsibilities — the graduates of the *Ecole des Infirmiers Veterinaires*, for example, will become more well-rounded livestock and range-management advisors, and the youngest trainees will become village-level change agents. Some trainers and administrators are to receive initial training in the United States, and refresher courses are to be conducted periodically at the Sortuba project center for others.

The project's communication specialist, whose full-time services will be required for at least two years, assumes a battery of responsibilities. Some of these tasks are ongoing, while others relate to specific stages of the project's development. Open-ended activities include materials production, facility and equipment maintenance, and coordination of the center's business with that undertaken in the field in Dilly. Sequential activities comprise reviewing available production resources, procuring equipment, field-testing materials (charts, tapes, slides, etc.), stockpiling audio-visual aids, and conducting a thorough evaluation of the communication component at the close of the project's second year in 1979. Perhaps most important, the communication specialist will train change agents in communication methods and in the use of A-V materials in extension work.

RESULTS:

Still in its preliminary phase, the project has not been evaluated. The results of pre-project research, however, have revealed many social and economic factors that are sure to determine the eventual success or failure and the duration of the project.

The pre-project analysis of socio-cultural factors (part of which consisted of personal interviews conducted in six villages with different ethnic identities) indicated that the habits and the needs of the villagers range widely. Some villagers are migratory, some are not. Some are dependent solely upon livestock or agriculture for a living, while some live in mixed economies. At the same time, interaction and cooperation among the many ethnic groups appears to be extensive. Investigations of socio-cultural factors (including human and animal disease patterns, nutritional status, range-management techniques, and knowledge of such subjects), though fairly thorough, were impeded by language differences and by researchers' use of some terms unfamiliar to rural Malians.

The chief findings of the consultant who examined the communication component of the project — that new visual media will have to be introduced slowly and via the agricultural extension agents, that project workers can take very little for granted with respect to the villagers' exposure to modern media, that indigenous media and traditional performers should be used, that the literacy rate is low among the target population, and that the credibility of the staff promises to be a problem and a challenge — show that Mali's needs and problems are typical of those of many developing countries.

OF NOTE:

- Most of the people trained as change agents are recruited from the areas in which they will later work, and many are already in government employ in agencies other than OMBEVI.
- Visual aids are not used solely as teaching devices. They are instrumental in data-gathering, eliciting feedback, and winning local support for project activities.
- OMBEVI, FAO, Radio Mali, and *Alphabetization Functional* collaborate in the operation of the *Mali Livestock II Project*.
- With tape-recorders, one consultant suggested in a first-term report, change agents could help establish an oral library, contribute more significantly to evaluation and monitoring activities, and learn at home at self-selected paces.
- A pre-project survey on women's contribution and role in agriculture was conducted to help project planners focus on the needs of rural Malian women.
- Many Malian staff-members have received overseas training in such countries as Cuba, the United States, and Germany. According to one consultant, these Malians have a keener understanding of the "expatriot mentality" than most expatriot staff-members have of local culture.
- Even before the visual aids used in this project were pre-tested, the target audience was surveyed to determine how familiar and receptive it was to photographs and drawings as media. In general, people responded most positively and actively to realistic pictures of familiar activities, objects, and settings.
- Each technical-assistance specialist has a Malian counterpart who will eventually take over his or her job.

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"Final Report: Livestock and Ranch Development in the Dilly Area — Sociological and Communications Aspects," Walton Johnson, Chemonics, August 1977.

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MASS MEDIA NUTRITION-ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN Philippines

TARGET AUDIENCE:	Rural low-income households in the provinces (approximately 2.5 million inhabitants)
OBJECTIVES:	To test the effectiveness of modern marketing and advertising techniques in changing behavior, attitudes, and knowledge related to the nutrition and health of infants
MEDIA:	Radio and limited interpersonal communication
DONORS/SPONSORS:	The Philippine Government, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the National Media Production Center of the Philippines
DURATION:	Late 1975 to late 1976
CONTACTS:	Dr. Florentino Solon and Dr. Josefina Patron, National Nutrition Council, Ministry of Health and Nutrition, Manila, Philippines; Candy Formacion, Department of Nutrition, University of Iloilo, Iloilo City, Iloilo, Philippines; and Thomas M. Cooke, Manoff International, Inc., 2080 L Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

DESCRIPTION:

The Mass Media Nutrition-Advertising Campaign was launched in recognition of the sorry nutritional status of many Filipino children and of the inadequacy of using traditional means to counsel the mothers of underweight babies. Apprised of the successful use of advertising and marketing techniques to reach undernourished populations in India and Ecuador with practical tips on diet and food preparation, Filipino nutritionists in the National Nutrition Council decided to try that approach. Their specific goal was to get Filipino mothers to enrich with chopped vegetables, oil, and fish the watery rice porridge (*lugaw*) given to their infants to supplement breast milk. The hidden task, more difficult than spreading messages, was to overturn some ingrained and incorrect — but widely held — ideas about the nutritional needs of the newborn.

The project activities began in 1975, when the U.S. Agency for International Development agreed to provide funds to hire a U.S.-based advertising and social communication firm to work with Filipino planners to design, carry out, and evaluate the campaign. The first step involved the U.S. team and their local counterparts in an exploratory trip through the target site (Iloilo Province, rural population 700,000). Early visits were scattershot attempts to gather impressions while later forays were part of a controlled survey of carefully selected mothers. The baseline survey revealed that only 3 percent of the mothers in the project area had heard of the practice of adding oil to *lugaw* and that none had actually tried it. More mothers (5 and 17 percent, respectively) had tried adding vegetables and fish to the mixture.

Message development, the second stage of the project, proceeded according to principles followed in commercial advertising. Message designers assumed that creating interest in a particular idea requires enlisting sympathy for the proposer of the idea — a feat that involves making sure that the message bearer is perceived as sane, likable, authoritative, and deserving of respect. They also took pains to insure that the change under discussion was not viewed as more sweeping or disruptive than it actually was. These and compatible beliefs informed the six 60-second spot dramas that were eventually developed, tested, revised, recorded and sent out to area radio stations.

The six pre-recorded messages were broadcast in rotation from 15 stations during both the morning and evening hours, the times rural families are most likely to listen. Once the broadcasts began, the locally recruited project workers distributed information on the concepts being promoted and on the campaign itself to the health and nutrition rehabilitation centers in the project area. Related information that had been developed with the help of Filipino doctors in another context was also supplied to the radio stations for distribution in response to listener requests. Broadcasts continued uninterrupted for one year.

Since the ability of radio messages alone to change food patterns was to be tested, no other special educational activities were undertaken during the test period. Doctors, nurses, and rural community workers were informed of the rationale of the campaign, but they were not encouraged to carry out any special education programs.

RESULTS:

A pre-project survey, an interim survey conducted in May of 1976, and a post-project questionnaire were used to evaluate the impact of this campaign. The interim survey, conducted in May of 1976, revealed that the percentage of mothers who added oil to *lugaw* increased from 0 to 23 in eight months. The number adding vegetables rose from 5 to 17 percent, and those adding fish rose from 17 to 27 percent. The comparable figures calculated after the final survey were 24 percent for oil, 17 percent for vegetables, and 27 percent for fish.

The post-project interviews also revealed that radio's role as a source of nutrition information was most strongly evidenced by the target audience's reports of adding oil. On the other hand, participation in and knowledge of existing nutrition and health service programs were more closely associated with adding vegetables and fish, traditional themes of nutrition education. No relationship between adding oil and these programs was found. This suggests that the innovation of adding oil may be attributed to the radio messages.

A separate survey of community health workers in the test area supported the findings of the household survey.

OF NOTE:

- The phrases and idioms that mothers used in the preliminary pre-project interviews were woven into the broadcast scripts and messages.
- Local health and nutrition workers served as hosts and guides to the survey team. For many, the survey offered the first chance they had had in months to visit remote places and talk with the people they are supposed to serve.
- In the first months of the campaign, the "Vegetable Message with Doctor" was played more frequently than the "Oil Message with Doctor" simply because station managers failed to understand that each message must receive the same exposure because each is vital and different from the others. This problem was cleared up in a meeting of station managers.
- The same U.S.-based advertising firm that conducted the campaign in the Philippines conducted similar projects in Ecuador, Nicaragua, and the Dominican Republic, as well as other social communication projects in the United States.
- A mini-drama format was selected because the "novella" (or soap opera) is extremely popular in the Philippines and because it can accommodate the conflict that always arises when an unorthodox idea is presented.
- According to the advertising firm in charge of the campaign, the virtues of spot ads are many. Production costs are low, the passive listener is reached, spots can be inserted within and between the most popular programs, and spots do not tire the listener the way lectures or discussions sometimes do.

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- "Changing Nutrition and Health Behavior Through the Mass Media: Nicaragua and the Philippines, An Interim Report," Manoff International, Inc., September 1976.

BASIC VILLAGE EDUCATION Guatemala

TARGET AUDIENCE:	Indian and Ladino farmers in Guatemala
OBJECTIVE:	To change farming practices and increase production through the effective use of communication
MEDIA:	Interpersonal communication, ^{radio} forums, graphic materials
DONORS/SPONSORS:	The Latin American Bureau of the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the Guatemalan Ministries of Education and Agriculture
DURATION:	Implemented in 1973; ongoing
CONTACT:	Prof. Mario R. Dardon, Project Director, Programa de Educación Basica Rural, 2a. Avenida 8.- 53, Zona 1, Guatemala City, Guatemala; Dr. Howard Lusk, Chief of Education, Science, and Technology, Latin America Bureau, U.S. AID, Rm. 2245 New State, Washington, D.C. 20523, U.S.A.

DESCRIPTION:

Basic Village Education (BVE) is a five-year experiment aimed at using communications media to acquaint Guatemalan farmers with modern agricultural practices. Its ancillary goal is to increase the effectiveness of extension workers so they can help solve individual and regional farming problems. The plan to test the cost-effectiveness of various mixes of communications media was implemented by the Academy for Educational Development under contract to the Agency for International Development (whose total contribution to the project will cumulatively total at least \$1,650,000 by the time the project is completed). The plan originally called for three and, later, for four distinct communications mixes, representing increasing degrees of contact with the rural families "in two vastly different cultural and geographical settings."

In 1973, the project was initiated among the Spanish-speaking Ladinos (Mestizos) in the southeastern part of Guatemala. Roughly 18 months later, the experiment was extended to include the western highlands, where it was directed toward the Quiché-speaking Indian population. In a survey conducted by the BVE staff in 1974, the illiteracy rate was pegged at 64 percent in the Yupiltepeque Valley of southeastern Guatemala and at 66 percent in rural communities near Momostenango in the highlands.

Radio was chosen as the main conduit for imparting new agricultural knowledge and stimulating behavioral change. Two radio stations broadcast eight hours a day, from 5 to 9 a.m. and from 4 to 8 p.m., Monday through Saturday. To attract and maintain a large listening audience, the BVE staff programs about 80 percent of the

broadcast time with music, entertainment, and other programs unrelated to agriculture. The remaining hours are devoted to the discussion of farming. The core agricultural program includes a 30-minute "agricultural magazine," radio novels, a question-and-answer interview with an agronomist, and 30 to 40 spots that carry agricultural messages.

The first of the four different communication treatments consists of messages delivered by radio alone. The second adds a village "monitor" — locally selected and trained for about a month — who weekly visits four or five villages that together contain approximately 200 families and who holds late afternoon forums at which recorded radio messages are played on a cassette recorder. The monitor uses flipcharts and posters to spark discussions, gives out take-home sheets, and in some cases, cultivates demonstration plots. A third treatment provides low-level technical assistance from agronomists, each of whom serves roughly 600 families. The BVE field agronomist works with monitors in the villages, conducts plot demonstrations, helps identify local crop-production problems, and advises farmers. He also serves as the monitors' supervisor and trainer and is an important feedback channel from the field. The fourth, added in 1975, employs monitors alone in areas not reached by the radio shows.

RESULTS:

Contrary to expectation, and probably because programming is so carefully tailored to local needs, *radio alone* seems to be having a significant impact on farmers' behavior. This particular experimental design, some say, has created an extended personal communications system rather than a traditional impersonal broadcasting sphere. Also, the monitors and agronomists appear to reinforce the radio messages effectively.

The radio forums tended to attract farmers already disposed to adopting more modern farming practices. But some farmers who did not attend the forums also changed their farming practices. Chief among the changes were the selection of heartier corn seed and the use of fertilizer at flowering and seeding time. Fungicide use also increased among many area farmers, but this change was less marked.

OF NOTE:

- In 1976, the usual effect of low rainfall on crop yields was exacerbated by a drought that occurred in the critical months of July through September.
- The experiment was disrupted by the earthquake in February of 1976. For a month project resources were used almost exclusively in relief activities.
- The introduction of silk-screening in 1976 produced superior graphics, eliminated tedious hand copying, and allowed artists more time to integrate feedback concepts into future illustrative materials.

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